Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-91-073
Tuesday
16 April 1991

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FBIS-EEU-91-073 *16 April 1991*

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Democratic Party Reaffirms Assembly Boycott

AU1504143091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Statement by Neritan Ceka, chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the Democratic Party issued on 15 April; place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] The Parliamentary Group of the Democratic Party [PDSh] reaffirms its stand not to participate in the opening session of the proceedings of the People's Assembly. It does so considering the indifference and lack of official response to the results of the investigations pertaining to the 2 April events in the city of Shkoder within the stipulated deadline. The PDSh Group demands once again that the proceedings be postponed to create normal conditions for the Assembly to meet. The PDSh Parliamentary Group approved an explanatory declaration which will be handed over to the press and to the Albanian Radio-Television.

[Signed] Neritan Ceka, chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the Democratic Party

[Dated] 15 April 1991

People's Assembly Meets as Scheduled

AU1504165291 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1600 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Dear listeners, the first session of the 12th legislature of the People's Assembly began its proceedings one hour ago. In addition to deputies representing the PPSh, the Omonia political organization, and the war veterans of the Albanian people, the proceedings were also attended by invited the following guests: members of the Presidential Council, the government, representatives of political parties, heads of diplomatic missions, members of the parliamentary delegation of the European Council, and journalists.

The first session of the 12th Assembly was opened by Adil Carcani, one of the more senior deputies. Following the national anthem, a group of deputies proposed the composition of the Mandates and Immunity Commission. Diber District Deputy, Fehmi Abdiu, reported on the composition of this commission, which was approved by the deputies. Elbasan Deputy Nerivan Ceka speaking as chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the Democratic Party, issued a declaration by the group, explaining the reason for the nonparticipation of the deputies of this party in the proceedings of the first session of the 12th legislature of the People's Assembly. The deputy from Skrapar District, Ajli Alushani, presented a declaration in the name of a group of deputies, expressing their regret for the nonparticipation of the deputies of the Democratic Party in these proceedings. He called on them to take part in the proceedings in order that the country's problems be discussed jointly by all. Other deputies expressed the same feelings.

The first sitting was thus concluded. The second sitting will open at 1700 hours on Wednesday.

Social Democratic Party Leader on Program

AU1404135991 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 14 Apr 91

[Text] Yet another new party has emerged in Albania, the Social Democratic Party. The initiative committee, headed by a writer and the director of the New Albania film studio, Teodor Laci, has formulated a program declaration and is awaiting registration with the authorities. The party, as the declaration states, will rally the middle stratum of the rural and urban population and will be founded on a critical approach to the current practice of socialism in the country.

The Social Democratic Party will particularly strive for the protection of the legal rights of minorities and their education in their mother tongue. It will also strive for their free contacts with the countries they originally come from.

Minorities should be an element of rapprochement rather than hostility. In this sense, the declaration states, this party will support the just struggle of Albanian brothers in Yugoslavia.

PPSh Wins Lushnje Constituency in Election

AU1504142591 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Announcement by the Central Electoral Commission issued in Tirana on 15 April]

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission for the election of deputies to the People's Assembly, at its meeting on 15 April 1991, after carefully examining the documents of the election in Constituency 142 in Lushnje District and finding them accurate and in full conformity with the Electoral Law, reports that for the 14 April elections 7,956 voters were registered at 22 polling stations. A total of 7,676 electors, or 96.5 percent, took part in the election.

An examination of the election documents shows that Comrade Rrapi Myzeqari, representative of the Albanian Workers Party, was elected as deputy to the People's Assembly in a free ballot by the will of the people, with 3,869 valid votes, equal to 52.16 percent of the total number of electors who voted in this constituency.

BSP Conservatives Accused of Obstructing Reform

AU1304192191 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 6 Apr 91 p 2

[Khristo Karlukovski article: "Action and Counteraction"]

[Text] Like all my fellow citizens I welcomed the new government with hope. Its readiness for action and flexibility were impressive. The first 100 days of Dimitur Popov's cabinet were critical. (As a matter of fact, the medical field is familiar with the concept of the critical phase. It is generally known that if the patient overcomes the critical phase he will survive, if he does not it means that he is ready for the funeral home). Bulgaria will certainly survive, but how? What forces are expected to prevail on our political scene? According to which social model will Bulgaria develop in the future?

The promises and pledges connected with the market economy in our country embodied our ideas, our moral readiness to proceed along this path that other nations have experienced. In saying "our" ideas I mean all those who share our ideas, of course. Nevertheless, numerous people in our country consider all discussions evolving around the market economy as an anathema. They do not dare to speak in the open, being responsible for the country's desolate current situation, but while joining in the chorus praising the "market economy" they are secretly preparing the restoration of the recent past.

They are withdrawing under the pressure of new ideas, new people, and new forms of social activities of the broad people's masses, which are unacceptable for them. The whole chain of newly emerging activities represents the most dangerous symptom of their doom. We should admire their tactical skill, however. They practice withdrawal as the most effective form of counteraction. With masterly skill they managed to manipulate the most effective methods of obstruction, arresting all progress. They are applying such methods in all their activities, from the debates at the Grand National Assembly to "intimate" conversations with former land owners. Following the logic of their past strategy and tactics, they focused their attention upon controversial figures and situations. By simultaneously putting Court Case No. 1 and the issue of the personal files into circulation, they tried "among other things" to use personalities, such as Stoyan Ganev, Petur Beron, Aleksandur Karakachanov, and Konstantin Trenchev as living targets for public attacks on the grounds of moral behavior. In my opinion, the aforementioned individuals are contemporary figures who play a role in our epoch and their activities will be judged in the future accordingly. Therefore, the attitude of those who are longing for the past is extremely dangerous for them because it restricts their freedom of action.

As a center of executive power, the government is actively engaged in dismantling the totalitarian system and thus represents the greatest danger for those who have not learned anything new and have not forgotten anything of the past.

The conservative forces within the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] promptly dedicated themselves to the task of obstructing the government's progress. The economic reform that was put into operation with so much effort slowed down. After the shock caused by the price increases, which the people endured with courage and optimism, the economic nomenklatura, which has still preserved its organizational strength and economic power, set out to implement the next strategic move of delaying the reform—namely by taking advantage of the unemployment shock. Resisting the actions of the government for the privatization of small and medium enterprises with all its efforts, the economic nomenklatura managed to diminish the chances of the Popov team to resist the pressure through organizational, economic, and social measures. The propaganda machinery on unemployment was set into motion. The president's efforts to support the government were opposed by the fierce attacks of the BSP legislative majority and by a torrent of biased newspaper campaigns.

I am convinced that the government will not remain a passive observer of such events, that it has its own program and its own distinguished figures who are not only highly qualified specialists, but also experienced legislators and politicians. It also has the support of the two trade union organizations. The political parties of the opposition have not withdrawn their confidence in the government. It is normal to presume that the government will soon adopt measures for further improving its activities.

The opposition insists on new elections on the grounds that the current composition of the Grand National Assembly is incapable of resolving the global issues of the nation's future. For the time being, the ruling party, in its political strategy, views the upcoming elections as a necessity dictated by the political agreement. The current BSP leadership presumably feels reassured about the final results of the upcoming elections, counting upon the figures mentioned in certain forecasts. As far as I am concerned, however, the final results should provide an answer to numerous accumulating problems related to the BSP itself. Both in the case of victory and in the case of defeat, certain dynamic processes will inevitably develop within the BSP, processes that are likely to influence the Bulgarian political landscape as a whole in the decades to come.

BSP Radical Change Movement Analyzed

AU1304210191 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 5-6 Apr 91 p 2

[Interview with Docent Zakhari Zakhariev, member of the Socialist Party Supreme Council and of the Operational Bureau of the Movement For Radical Reform, by

unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Political Pragmatism and Action"]

[Text] [VECHERNI NOVINI] Mr. Zakhariev, the Third National Conference of the Movement for Radical Reform in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] was held in Plovdiv on 30 March 1991. It was the first mention of the Radical-Socialists after a long silence.

[Zakhariev] As a matter of fact, the months that elapsed since the 39th Congress of the Bulgarian Socialist Party seem to have affected our movement's activities. Nevertheless, there are several other reasons for our silence. The most important is that our movement, as a whole, at the congress and within the months preceding it managed to implement many of the tasks it had assumed. Today the BSP has an ideological platform that is wholeheartedly supporting the ideological values of democratic socialism. It adopted a statute that contributed to the further democratization of our organizational life and guaranteed ideological pluralism within the party. The BSP leadership on a central and also on a local scale was renewed to a great extent.

At the same time, however, the opportunism of certain radical leaders who had distinguished themselves in the past greatly affected the activities of the Movement for Radical Reform and all actions connected with its ideological platforms. Such leaders evidently took advantage of the movement as a convenient springboard for their promotion to the party's higher echelons, the BSP legislative group, and the government. I am particularly worried about the fact that the aforementioned figures, in view of the upcoming party congress and the general elections, are once more posing as radical BSP leaders and are trying to play the same card. The first symptoms of such attitudes appeared at the Plovdiv conference.

[VECHERNI NOVINI] Does this mean that the Plovdiv forum of BSP radicals did not revive the spirits of your movement?

[Zakhariev] It was a genuine working forum. I am convinced that it mapped out clear and promising views on the extremely urgent, further renewal of the BSP. The conference adopted guidelines for further action pointing out the party's most pressing tasks in the social, political, and interparty spheres. On the basis of this document we intend to convene an extraordinary plenum of the BSP Supreme Council. The basic task, which was expressed in the appeal of BSP members and supporters, adopted at the conference, was to react against the extremely dangerous passive attitude of the past, against the trend of the BSP to remain a prisoner of its own ego and against its tendency to drift in the sociopolitical vacuum searching for its still unsettled identity. We do not need replacement of the old communist cliches by new ones that sound social-democratic, but we need a pronounced political pragmatism and useful practical actions. This would be the only meaningful factor of the noisily advertised "social-democratization of the BSP." Any other understanding of the reform would be no more than the creation of new ideological fetishes.

[VECHERNI NOVINI] Mr. Zakhariev, you were one of the members of the drafting commission appointed at the latest BSP Supreme Council plenum and in charge of publishing the documents on the party's responsibility and guilt, which were released for publication last week. Political and public reaction to the documents was quite controversial. Are your surprised?

[Zakhariev] Not in the least. The documents, as a whole, are in accordance with yesterday's expectations and requirements. The fact that their publication was greatly delayed does not affect their urgency and usefulness, especially for the BSP itself. In contradiction to the opinion of the majority, I am convinced that the supplement to the original documents, which needs 40 pages to present an entirely different view of 45 years of Bulgarian history, is the less effective document. Its greatest shortcoming, however, is not the analysis, but the arbitrarily jotted down names of so-called "figures who are guilty and responsible for the distortions and errors of the past, a list that is conceived without any logic and criteria. I would like to take advantage of the opportunity to declare that I was not in the least involved in drafting the "list of names," particularly regarding the period of the seventies and eighties. In this connection the presence of one name is particularly significant, while other names are not even mentioned. I would like to point out that the names listed in the supplement were by no means submitted to the plenum and were not approved by the majority of the commission members who were entrusted by the BSP Supreme Council with drafting and publishing the two documents.

BSP Responds to SDS Dissolution Declaration

AU1504181091 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 10 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

["Declaration" of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] Supreme Council Presidium; place and date not given: "We Appeal to All of You!"]

[Text] A drastic deterioration of political tensions has recently emerged in our country. The right-wing forces in the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and certain extra-legislature forces are purposefully trying to escalate the political confrontation in Bulgaria, which has reached a dangerous level and is likely to jeopardize the democratic changes, and to threaten the citizens' safety and social peace in Bulgaria.

The decision of the SDS Coordinating Council and the resolution adopted at yesterday's Sofia rally, which insists on the dissolution of the Grand National Assembly, are essentially undemocratic actions. The people's will expressed in the free, democratic elections that were held 10 months ago is not respected. The decision of the legislature, which was adopted by a great

majority and on the basis of roll-call voting, to discuss and adopt the Constitution and the basic laws, and the decision to hold the next legislative elections only after the local elections have taken place were grossly disregarded. The circles exerting this pressure have usurped the rights that are an exclusive prerogative of the people and of the legally elected legislature.

Such actions threaten to jeopardize the democratic changes of the last year and a half. They interrupt the efforts to draft the legislative foundations of the reforms in the country. Quite consciously they obstructed the preparation and passing of the constitution as a guarantee of stability in our society and of the irreversible nature of the democratic changes. All these acts are accomplished at a time when the work on the new draft constitution has considerably progressed. The Grand National Assembly can and must adopt the constitution, because this is the reason why it was elected by the people.

A dangerous state of anarchy threatens to emerge in our country. The existence of the Grand National Assembly is threatened, the government is destabilized, and the country has no legally elected units of power. All these developments may result in unpredictable events and undermine social peace, finally leading to a chaotic situation. Chaos, however, is nothing but the power of extremism.

All these actions are accomplished in a decisive period of our economic reform, when its success depends on its further, consistent implementation. The interruption of the reform in its most difficult stage, when joint efforts are called for to stabilize and stimulate production, is likely to doom the country to economic and social ruin, while the majority of our people would be condemned to unbearable living conditions. This is an extremely grave responsibility that cannot be justified by any political ambitions, or selfish interests.

The escalation of political tension may result in a real danger to the country's internal and external security. The destabilization of the situation in our country exposes our national sovereignty to danger and is likely to seriously affect the confidence in our country and Bulgaria's international prestige.

The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] expresses its great concern about this development of events. We are convinced that the Bulgarian people should be informed on the real situation and be aware of the possible, grave consequences it involves. We declare our goodwill and our sense of responsibility in trying with common efforts to safeguard the peaceful transition to democracy and to pursue the reforms in our country.

One cannot proceed toward democracy with undemocratic methods. The alternative to peaceful transition is unrest, the alternative to civic peace is civil war.

We appeal to all Socialists, to all our supporters, and constituents, to all those who care about Bulgaria's future, irrespective of their age, sex, origins, and religion: Join your hands together in protecting social peace and legislative democracy, do not permit that our country should be doomed to chaos and ruin.

Bulgaria's peaceful transition to democracy and reforms should be pursued for the sake of safeguarding the lives and well-being of all its citizens.

Signed: The BSP Supreme Council Presidium. Sofia, 9 April 1991.

SDS Leader Views Possible Government Crisis

AU1404150191 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 8 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] Coordinating Council, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Let Us Call the Problem By Its Real Name"]

[Excerpt] [DEMOKRATSIYA] What do you expect the next week to be like? Are we facing an imminent crisis?

[Dimitrov] Could there be any greater crisis than the current one? I have the feeling that many people have forgotten what the former governments brought the country to. We are virtually at the bottom. Everything that might happen now will be painful. The most important thing is to search for a way out.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] After the declarations we heard from Mr. Ludzhev, Mr. Popov, and Mr. Tomov—what is the truth? Is there a danger of a government crisis?

[Dimitrov] The government's situation is certainly not easy. We could attribute its difficulties to at least three reasons: In the first place—the fact that the government is composed of different political forces. The experiment of building up such a team is praiseworthy; however, it was not 100 percent successful, of course. Different interests are beginning to emerge at this point, therefore, conflicts are also emerging. In the second place, we should attribute the current difficulties to the nature of our legislature. The communist interests of the majority prevail in the National Assembly, although they might not appear during every vote. This is the reason, however, why the legislature's work is delayed and why it did not draft the economic bills prior to the reform. They are trying to calm us down now by claiming that the bills will be passed very soon. It is evident that this legislature is incapable of setting free the material resources required for the reform, such as the financial means that the state would obtain if it confiscated the party's property. The third reason for the difficulties is the stage reached by the reform. The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] could get over the financial aspect, but the structural changes justifiably evoke the resistance of the Socialists. This does not merely affect the nomenklatura in the industrial enterprises. The question is that the party upper crust could get control over the country's economy through its own industrial nomenklatura, irrespective of the existing

state institutions and the law. In addition let us say that the more the real structures of reform are delayed, the more the people will suffer and the more unemployment there will be. Nevertheless, some people catch a lot of fish in murky waters. It is evident who would gain from a government crisis. Let us hope, however, that things will not go that far, because a real alternative to the present government hardly exists.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] How will the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] act under such circumstances?

[Dimitrov] We already stated on several occasions that we support the reform. It is inevitable and a certain amount of suffering connected with it is also inevitable. I am convinced that everyone in our country realizes that this is the truth, and that the promises about "prosperity for Bulgaria through the Socialist Party" are nothing but gross lies. For this reason the reform should proceed and the government should work. Naturally, we should assess the general situation and try to protect the people against excessive hardships. It is, however, the delay that causes the greatest pain. Nevertheless, we should not waste half a year, or a whole year because we are afraid of a few months delay.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Now, we touch upon the subject of the legislature.

[Dimitrov] It is inevitable, considering that all these things are connected with each other.

[DEMOKRTATSIYA] Are you for, or against the legislature?

[Dimitrov] There is no such alternative. Democracy is identical with the existence of a legislature. It is not related, however, to a certain specific legislature, but to the legislative system. In a democracy, the legislature should be the representative of the nation. If it does not properly represent the people it should be dissolved.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Does this mean that you approve the declaration of the 47 deputies who demanded that the legislature be dissolved by the end of April?

[Dimitrov] There is hardly any need for me to approve it. Actually, the declaration is in conformity with the decisions of the SDS National Coordinating Committee in many respects and it is also in accordance with the meetings of representatives of municipal coordinating councils. It is interesting that 86 percent of the deputies who signed the declaration belong to parties whose legislative groups expressed certain reservations about the declaration.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Are you trying to hint at the fact that the SDS legislators who did not support the declaration are practically deprived of political support?

[Dimitrov] I would not exactly say so. As a matter of fact, the positions of the aforementioned two groups of deputies do not differ greatly. In my opinion, the 47 signatories called the problem by its real name. Is the Grand National Assembly really capable of adopting the new democratic constitution? If it was capable of doing so, would this not be used as a pretext for postponing the legislature's work and the reform? In the third place: Let us not forget to ask whether it is really in accordance with moral standards that the party that refuses to admit the guilt of a totalitarian political organization, such as the Bulgarian Communist Party, and which refuses to restore to the people their own property, which was stolen from them under the communist regime, whether this party is entitled to determine the image of the Assembly that is expected to adopt the new constitution?

[DEMOKRTATISYA] How would you assess the legislature's decision to hold local elections prior to legislative elections?

[Dimitrov] I am afraid that this decision will hardly be in the interest of the legislature. [passage omitted]

Remarks by Leaders at SDS Rally Reported

AU1404200991 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 9 Apr 91 p 1

[Asya Gruncharova report: "Elections in June! Elections in June!"]

[Excerpts] If somebody did not know what the position of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] Coordinating Council on the new elections was, he could here it on 8 April at Sofia's "Prince Aleksandur Battenberg" Square. The position is categorical—elections in June—first of all for the legislature and then for municipal services of the administration. This was stated by Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the SDS Coordinating Union. He again refuted the claim that the SDS is disintegrating. "You will hear different tales. For example, they will tell you that the SDS is responsible for unemployment," Mr. Dimitrov said. "We inherited almost 30 percent of the unemployment from Todor Zhivkov. Some 60 percent is a result of Andrey Lukanov's inept administration. An additional percentage goes to the credit of Aleksandur Tomov." [passage omitted]

Minister Ivan Kostov should tell the Bulgarian people what condition the state was in when the new government was formed. How did the $11 billion foreign debt emerge, and what amount of money was spent by the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], Grand National Assembly member Georgi Markov said. [passage omitted]

Stoyan Ganev—another SDS favorite—was greeted by thunderous applause. People should not speculate with the adoption of the new constitution, the constitutional law specialist said. The other Eastern European countries still have not adopted democratic constitutions, despite the fact that they are ahead of us in conducting economic reform.

Aleksandur Yordanov frankly described as treasonous the absence of some opposition members of the Grand

National Assembly from the Assembly on the day voting took place on the new date for the elections. There are people among the SDS legislators who lack discipline and do not think about democracy, he said. This is another reason to support the thesis about the necessity of conducting the elections soon. "We want the elections, so people do not have to run away from Bulgaria as if we had the plague here," he said.

Professor Nikolay Vasilev promised that on Monday [15 April], when another rally is scheduled, he would read an appeal on creating new structures in support of the regional SDS coordinating councils, namely, SDS civic committees. The "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation initiated this idea.

The rally adopted a resolution that reads: "The Grand National Assembly repeatedly proved that its composition does not allow it to adopt the laws that are so necessary to change the system and for a really democratic constitution. We call upon the SDS members of the Grand National Assembly to walk out of the legislature by 19 April, and for President Zhelyu Zhelev to declare new elections on 23 and 30 June 1991." [passage omitted]

TU Leader Petkov on New Elections

AU1504142291 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 10 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, by Sonya Gulubarova; place and date not given—"Democratic Changes Are Beyond Ability of Weak Performers"]

[Excerpts] [Gulubarova] Well—new elections, new legislature? What is the attitude of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] to all this?

[Petkov] This is an issue that must be decided by the political forces represented in the legislature by the president, and by the institution of the Presidency. The KNSB is not an organization that can dictate the date of the elections, or impose its will in this sphere. We view the issue with great interest, however, and I cannot hide my growing alarm, caused by the dynamics of the political events. Those events confirm our thesis of November 1990, namely, that the Grand National Assembly with its present composition, is unable to implement its basic obligation—to adopt the new constitution within a fixed period of time, as well as the entire package of positive laws, necessary for the economic reform, and a group of laws affecting the country's administrative system.

[Gulubarova] I hope that you are not resentful....

[Petkov] I say all this because the events developed precisely in the way the KNSB predicted. Then, in November 1990, many people were left with the impression that the KNSB joined the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation in the national strike aimed at toppling Lukanov's government. Deceived by external effects and the special role of certain mass media, the people forgot that we had several additional demands: to form a government that harbors no illusions about the state economy and the need to initiate an immediate economic reform. In addition, we demanded the dissolution of the Grand National Assembly and the election of a new one, which as a political configuration, will include persons elected because of their great sense of responsibility for the fate of our unfortunate country. In November 1990 our strategic view was more far reaching than the one advocated by "Podkrepa," but this remained unnoticed. Therefore, today I am pleased by the fact that in November 1990 the KNSB Executive Committee had a correct position. [passage omitted]

[Gulubarova] Let us assume that there are elections in June. How do you assess the chances of the separate political forces?

[Petkov] Now each political force is planning how to convincingly win the next elections. It is possible that their expectations will remain unfulfilled. Some of them will even be greatly disappointed. It is one thing to vote when painful and inevitable measures are to be implemented, and another, when one already feels the effect of those measures. The explosion of the dissatisfaction could affect unpredictable spheres. We already have a completely new phenomenon that should not be underestimated—the army of the unemployed. The officially registered 120,000 unemployed already initiated action aimed at creating their party or another form of association. It is an open question for whom they will vote.

In addition, one must note the growing pragmatism of the Bulgarian people. Bent under the burden of the reform, the high interest percentage, and the price shock, the people closed themselves within the domain of their families, and think how to survive. This is a qualitatively new factor. In such cases very few people think about politics. Their first reaction is to withhold their vote. [passage omitted]

DUMA Assesses SDS Easter Rally

AU1504180391 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 10 Apr 91 p 6

[Text] The Easter rally of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] in Sofia was neither very numerous, nor very noisy. Some of the speakers hardly earned any applause. Generally speaking, the strident tone of the background "music" was provided by certain groups specially selected for the purpose. The most striking feature of the rally, however, were the portraits of Simeon Coburg- Gotha that were raised together with the blue banners. Who knows nowadays who are the republicans in the SDS, who are the monarchists, and what kind of people are attending their rallies?

The only certain thing that could be remembered about the recent rally were the addresses by individual speakers who demanded the prompt, almost "immediate" disbanding of the Grand National Assembly. For the first time, participants in a street demonstration were officially urged to join the SDS efforts in trying to eliminate the legally elected legislature.

The speakers claimed that the legislature is "red."

They claimed that the legislature is incapable of drafting the Constitution.

They further accused the legislature of obstructing the economic reform.

They claimed that the people have no confidence in the legislature.

Such were some of the major attacks launched by the SDS against the Grand National Assembly. It is unnecessary to examine each of them separately.

Despite the difficulties that the parliamentary commissions have to cope with, they are drafting law after law. Despite the even greater difficulties that the Constitutional Commission is facing, it is already thoroughly involved in its highly responsible work. Despite all possible difficulties emerging at the plenary sessions, common sense has always prevailed and the legislature is doing useful work as a whole.

Why then, this insane attack against legislative work? Who would gain from a premature disbanding of the Grand National Assembly?

There is no doubt whatsoever, that the right-wing forces within the SDS have their own accounts to settle not only with the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], but with the legislature as a whole. They do not wish a new constitution, because, as their legislative spokesman stated, it would not be better than the Turnovo Constitution. They are afraid of discussing the problem of personal files. They shun a future, direct confrontation with the BSP in the local elections and do not believe that the more the crisis escalates the greater their chance of success in the new legislative elections will be [sentence as published]. Last, but not least, they are afraid of unpredictable processes in their own ranks.

For all these reasons and misgivings, the SDS is launching a street attack against the Grand National Assembly.

The noise is great and the approaching storm will not be easy to cope with, but we would like to believe that on this occasion the people will prefer common sense to chaos. If the legislature should collapse, Bulgaria will be deprived of its legislative power. There is no doubt that such a dramatic political development is likely to overthrow the government. Only the president would remain and he would hardly be capable of calming the situation and of ruling the country by himself. What should we hope for in that case?

Democracy can only rely on political common sense. This is the one and only reliable factor! The rest is a sand storm that might annihilate us.

Trifonov Comments on Political Scene

AU1204142091 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 5 Apr 91 pp 1, 2, 3

[Interview with Ivaylo Trifonov, "head of the president's chancellery," by Vesela Petkova; place and date not given—"By the End of Month at the Latest, The Legislature Will Show Whether It Has a Future"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Petkova] What is the president's opinion about the most suitable date for conducting new legislative elections and the elections for municipal services of management?

[Trifonov] It is well-known that the date for the legislative elections and the elections for municipal bodies, set by the political agreement, will not be observed. This is not a result of the "games" of certain political power, but rather a result of the real development of the country's economic and political processes. The government began a new economic reform, which needs a legislative foundation. The Grand National Assembly is the only entity that can decide when we will have the elections, and what character they will have. Any attempt on the part of the political forces, regardless of whether it is the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], and some of the parties that form the SDS, or on the part of extra-legislative parties and movements to impose their opinion on the date of the elections, violates the legislative democracy, toward which we aspire.

The personal opinion of the president is that the elections' timing will facilitate economic reform. The economic reform must not be blocked in any way by the lack of legislative foundation or by undermining the support our country receives by international financial, state, and political institutions. Any attempt to destabilize our political situation or any extra-legislative pressure that could block the activity of the Grand National Assembly and the government and thus could prompt the president to adopt unpopular decisions will inevitably sever the delicate connection we established with Europe along our road toward the European structures. [passage omitted]

We must ask ourselves what political force is interested in disrupting the work of the legislature. I cannot give you a single answer. In both basic political formations in the legislature there are people who are interested in this. I would describe them as radical political figures, deputies, or members of the separate parties' leaderships. In this context I will note that [President] Zhelev is thoroughly convinced that if we want to preserve Bulgaria's new image in the eyes of the world, created with so many difficulties, and if we want to win the Bulgarian people's confidence in the name of the reform, we must by no means succumb to narrow party interests.

Perhaps my answer is evasive. Indeed, the legislature will decide when is the most appropriate time to hold the elections. In other words, the work of the legislature will determine the most suitable time for conducting elections for a new National Assembly. If in the next 15-20 days the legislature begins to discuss the new constitution, the basic economic laws are adopted, and the legislature shows that it really is able to adopt laws that correspond to the basic principles of the market economy as well as a democratic constitution, we will have no reason to protest against its work. Time will show in the next two weeks, or perhaps, until the end of the month, whether our legislature has a future. I think that a prudent centrist nucleus, composed of members of both "sides," and interested in a real economic and political reform in Bulgaria, has already been formed in the legislature. [passage omitted]

Fatherland Labor Party's First Congress Reported

AU1604194691 Sofia BTA in English 1820 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 15 (BTA)—"The Fatherland Party of Labor (OPT) has the ambition to establish, together with other parties and movements that share similar views, a Bulgarian Patriotic Union which will defend the country's national priorities. This decision was made at the first congress of the OPT which was held a week ago," Mr. Rumen Popov, OPT leader, said at a press conference here today. Mr. Popov sees the future of his party is in forming a patriotic union with the centrist opposition. Such a union could guarantee the party's active participation in the forthcoming elections and in the government of the country. At the same time it would attract the people discontented with both the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

The leadership of the party was authorized by the congress to negotiate the foundation of the patriotic union with parties outside the BSP and SDS, such as the National Democratic Party, the New Democracy Party, the Bulgarian Constitutional Forum, the Bulgarian Business Block and the Fatherland Union. We have not joined the SDS because they admitted in their ranks the Movement for Rights and Freedoms whose existence is inconsistent with the Bulgarian Constitution, Mr. Popov said. We support the SDS as a marked initiator of the reform, but as far as the national problem is concerned the OPT entirely shares the views of those Bulgarian scientists, members of the BSP, who champion for the Bulgarian national spirit.

Mr. Popov went on to say that the OPT is not an anti-Turkish party.

Mr. Popov dwelled on his party's idea to create a "Thracian zone" as an alternative of the Black Sea economic zone and to set up similar zones for economic, cultural and spiritual exchange in Dobrudzha and Macedonia.

Public Demonstrations Accompany Stoichkov Trial

AU1504184191 Sofia BTA in English 1550 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 15 (BTA)—Shouting "murderers" and "criminals" hundreds of Sofianites gathered today to express their attitude to the two defendants in the trial held in connection with the tragic consequences of the Chernobyl accident in Bulgaria: Mr. Grigor Stoichkov, former chairman of the Governmental Commission for Combating Major Natural Calamities and Industrial Accidents, and Professor Lyubomir Shindarov, former chief sanitary inspector of this country. Before the trial opened the agitated crowd waved national tricolors and black funeral flags, raised slogans and posters. The people commented with indignation on the outrages of the former regime in Bulgaria.

Mr. Grigor Stoichkov, who reached as high up as the former Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and was once deputy prime minister, and Professor Lyubomir Shindarov, who was deputy minister of health, tried to show composure and high spirits in the court-room. But those who had managed to gain access to the limited number of seats in the court-room (all in all 60) and some of the journalists there reacted violently to the defendants' behavior describing it as impudent.

The lawyers of the defendants also received their share of people's indignation, especially after they tried to convince the court panel of the necessity of abandoning the prosecution. There was also an innocent victim an ordinary citizen was mistaken for Shindarov and was struck several blows.

The break, which was longer than expected, sufficed for the court panel to rule down the lawyers' request. By this the panel actually dismissed the claim of procedure violations during the preliminary investigation and rejected the necessity for repeating the investigation.

The lawyers availed themselves of the tense situation outside and inside the courtroom to express the opinion that there was an attempt to influence the course of the trial and to politicize it.

After moving ahead with the trial the court rejected the civil claim made by some citizens from the town of Asenovgrad in which it is stated that a relative of the claimants had died as a result of the radioactive pollution in the country and the culpable negligence of its rulers. The court also rejected the demand of Ecoglasnost to be a public accuser at the trial because the demand was not made in the order and within the time limit fixed by the law.

Bulgaria was not officially informed by the Soviet authorities of the accident in Chernobyl immediately after it happened, it is pointed out in the indictment read

by Prosecutor Milka Boyadzhieva. The competent Bulgarian authorities learnt of the accident from foreign radio stations and other mass media.

The Bulgarian rulers continued their culpable silence even after the national radio metric services determined an increased radioactive background. When things could no longer be concealed the official announcements were inadequately reassuring.

One way or another, the administration was set in motion and an expert commission was set up, but the specialists' warnings and fears were not taken into account and did not influence the decisions of the government.

The defendants Grigor Stoichkov and Professor Shindarov, a medic, sought above all to protect the prestige of the Soviet Union, the indictment emphasizes, adding that the totalitarian regime attached only secondary importance to the health of the nation.

The trial was attended by M.P.'s of the Grand National Assembly.

The court hearings will continue tomorrow with the interrogation of the defendants.

Zhivkov Ill; Trial Postponed Until Next Week

AU1504143191 Sofia BTA in English 1335 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 15 (BTA)—Today Zhivkov did not turn up in court. His defense lawyer Daniela Dokovska submitted a medical certificate issued by the Ministry of Interior hospital, according to which Zhivkov should stay in bed for at least five days because of vegetative nervous system problems. The trial was adjourned till the end of the week when the court should be notified whether Zhivkov's state of health would permit him to attend the court hearing on Monday.

Prosecutor Krasimir Zhekov told the BTA that he was worried by the fact that some of the witnesses could not be traced. Among them Mr. Zhekov mentioned Pencho Kubadinski, a member of the former Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, whose whereabouts are unknown. Pencho Kubadinski had to testify in court at the very beginning of the trial.

The court has to question the remaining 45 witnesses in four days.

Ruse Students Sit-In Continues 16 April

AU1604074791 Sofia BTA in English 0721 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 16 (BTA)—The students' sit-in strike, declared at the Technical University in the Danubian city of Ruse is in its second week now. An expert commission of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education will soon take a stand on the economic, social and juridical demands of the students.

The National Students' Coordinating Council met here last night to discuss the actions of the Ruse students. The meeting revealed the tensions existing among students and adopted no decision.

Mr. Georgi Fotev, minister of science and higher education, also took part in the debates during which the different students' organizations tried to speak on behalf of all Bulgarian students.

The Ruse students are categorical that the sit-in is the only possible way of achieving their goals. Three other students' organizations declared themselves against such methods, some, however, expressed support for the social demands and others rejected the political ultimatums.

Mr. Fotev himself is against the sit-in but at the same time he believes that some of the demands of the students are justified.

Spokesman Denies Calfa Remarks on Sudeten Germans

LD1204202291 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] Talks between German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Prime Minister Marian Calfa did not touch upon the Sudetenland Germans' demands. A report on German Television included a gross disinformation according to which Marian Calfa allegedly declared that neither government would accept the conditions of the Sudetenland Landsmanschaft [association of refugees and expellees fronm the same region]

A federal government press spokesman is authorized to announce that Prime Minister Marian Calfa did not say anything of this kind and totally dissociates himself from the disinformation in question.

Calfa Interviewed on Genscher Visit, Land Bill

LD1204205291 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1750 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Interview with CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified reporter, place and date not given: "Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister"—live or recorded; reporter speaks in Czech, Calfa in Slovak]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Reporter] Let us speak about the Federal Assembly now—the land bill failed passage and is to be discussed again. [passage omitted]

[Calfa] As far as I know—this is not official information—the Federal Assembly intends to return to discuss this bill during a plenary session sometime in mid-May.

[Reporter] There was sharp criticism about the fact that some deputies were not present during these deliberations and voting—the number of those who failed to attend was really very surprising. In this context, I would recall that Mr. Lux, the rapporteur, who spoke after the deliberations when the bill failed passage also criticized the fact that the representatives of the government were not present, including you. What would you like to say about it?

[Calfa] It is true that we were not present; a representative of the government was present, though. I do not doubt that those members of the government who are deputies will be able to explain why they did not attend that session of the Federal Assembly. The members of the government have many obligations; to attend a session of the Federal Assembly is not their only obligation, especially when it is known that an entire day is to be devoted to discussing individual amendments of the bill. [passage omitted]

Moreover, it is questionable whether the Federal Assembly, given its present balance of forces, would have approved the bill even if all the deputies had been present. [passage omitted]

Gal's Meeting With FRG's Genscher Questioned

LD1204204191 Prague CTK in English 1739 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 12 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today wondered that German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher met only with Public Against Violence (VPN) Slovak Council Chairman Fedor Gal during his short visit to Czechoslovakia yesterday.

Referring to this visit, Meciar said that meetings with representatives of political parties and movements are usual on such occasions but he believed that by contacting Genscher as a leading representative of the Liberal Party Gal wanted to show that VPN is not following rightist trends, of which it is often accused.

Meanwhile, the Slovak Ministry for External Relations issued a statement here today expressing regret at the fact that representatives of the Slovak government coalition (Public Against Violence, Christian Democratic Movement and Democratic Party) and of the parliamentary opposition in the Slovak National Council (parliament) were unable to meet with Hans Dietrich Genscher to brief him on Slovakia's political scene.

Referring to yesterday's brief visit of the German foreign minister to Czechoslovakia during which he received the Slovak premier and the minister for external relations, Vladimir Meciar and Milan Knazko respectively, as well as chairman of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence (VPN) Fedor Gal, the Slovak Foreign Ministry statement said it had learned about Gal's meeting with Genscher only from the media and considered this procedure unusual and at variance with normal practice.

Minister Klaus Says Balance of Payments Improved

LD1204194891 Prague CTK in English 1701 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 12 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's balance of payments surpassed the expectations and after a long period was positive in March, Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus told journalists here today.

Referring to today's session of the Czechoslovak Financial Council, Klaus said the criteria established by the International Monetary Fund were fulfilled despite the postponed cuts in subsidies to electricity and heating. The rate of inflation slowed down in March though it has not yet reached the level desired by the state bodies, he said.

On the other hand, Klaus recalled a decline in production caused mainly by reduced exports.

Klaus further said that the Czech, Slovak and Federal Finance Ministries will continue to regulate prices to some extent but that the scope of these regulations

should gradually narrow. Within these regulations the Finance Ministries will prefer consumers to producers, he added.

In connection with an improved development of the balance of payments the Financial Council decided today to reduce import surcharges by two per cent, Klaus said.

Klaus, Baksay on Specific Features Claims

AU1604073291 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 13 Apr 91 p 3

[Ivo Slavik report: "The Financial Council Above the Danube"]

[Excerpts] The Financial Council met in Bratislava this time to discuss the new system for financing social insurance and the course of action to be taken in regulating prices. Among other things, coupon privatization and the method for guaranteeing it were also on the agenda. [passage omitted]

In reply to a question from MLADA FRONTA DNES on whether Czechoslovakia is not threatened by a metamorphosis into some kind of "specificity state" where other regions' specific features would be added to the claims about the Slovak economy's specific features, Vaclav Klaus replied: "The entire previous regime was based on not adopting general rules; everything was done according to each specific enterprise. Economic reform is the transition to rules generally applicable throughout Czechoslovakia. These rules and a real economic situation mean that some products and enterprises come off worse, while others come off better. In no way is the border between the Czech and Slovak Republics a dividing line. The most we can say is that there are more problematic regions in the Slovak Republic than in the Czech Republic; however, the impacts of reform do not have a republican bearing. Wherever we go in Czechoslovakia, we come across regions claiming that they are the most afflicted. Ecological destruction is greater in North Bohemia and North Moravia. I go to South Bohemia and I am told that the Slovak regions are not the most neglected from an investment point of view, the South Bohemian regions are the most neglected. By saying this, I am not disparaging the specific nature of the problems involved in converting the armaments industry, in agriculture in mountainous regions, and in Slovakia's textile industry, which is entirely dependent—first and foremost—on the Soviet market. It is not a case of Bohemia versus Slovakia; however, branches of industry, types of production, and their concentration are involved."

We caught up with Federal Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay in the hall, and we asked him which issues arouse the most controversial opinions. "So far, we have dealt with two areas. The first one was the privatization fund. We had to decide whether we would have one federal fund or two republican funds. The republican representatives claim that the republican fund is more advantageous. In my opinion, not one economic argument was presented. The arguments were political. From an economic point of view, it is clear that the greater the investment, the better the opportunity for working with the fund.

"Some people still proceed from the premise that the federation exists in order to impoverish one or the other republic. This is an absurd notion. The federation has to balance out the differences. The previous period, in which we never had a pure federation, is still genetically imprinted in us. It was an administrative federation based on a noneconomic one. The sooner we rid ourselves of this notion, the better for our economy and—first and foremost—for this country's 16 million inhabitants."

Baksay on Meciar's Attempt at Foreign Trade

AU1604081591 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 11 Apr 91 p 7

[Interview with Federal Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay by Petr Husak in Prague; date not given: "I Am Building a Modern Institution"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Husak] While abroad, you spoke about the resignation of the Slovak prime minister that should be expected shortly, and about a calming down of the situation in Slovakia....

[Baksay] Contrary to the presentation in the press, it was not an official statement at the news conference in Luxembourg. The situation in Slovakia is grave. If the prime minister of a democratic state declares that he has brought 100,000 jobs from the USSR while in fact he has not signed even a line, it is reason enough for him to resign. [passage omitted]

[Husak] How would you assess Prime Minister Meciar's visit to the USSR?

[Baksay] The Ministry of Foreign Trade has a sufficient number of highly qualified experts who are well versed in Soviet legislation and in the opportunities offered by the Soviet market. In a personal letter I offered Prime Ministers Meciar and Pithart close cooperation in preparing their business trips abroad. I repeated my offer to Prime Minister Meciar on the occasion of our meeting in Bratislava. I expected that he would take advantage of the knowledge of our experts—especially since Minister Knazko, who has not been introduced to me as an official partner for the Slovak side, probably does not have a sufficient apparatus yet. Moreover, he does not have experience of the Soviet market. Unfortunately, Prime Minister Meciar asked for neither assistance nor cooperation. I learned of his trip only from the media. Had he really ensured 100,000 jobs for Slovakia, it would mean that he sold to the USSR 20 billion korunas' [kcs] worth of goods. In fact, at the height of mutual trade, Slovakia's exports to the USSR totalled kcs13 billion. Populism and nationalism are short-sighted policies usually ending in a crash or a misfortune. [passage omitted]

[Husak] Do you consider the Martinex (company) plans on exporting tanks to the USSR to be realistic?

[Baksay] No, I consider them absolutely unrealistic.

[Husak] Can these products be sold elsewhere?

[Baksay] I fear not. Tanks and other heavy military technology are produced under a Soviet license. If we wanted to sell the production lines, we would have to ask the USSR for permission. In addition, we are bound by certain political agreements. True, we could ignore some UN and EC resolutions and sell some military technology anywhere. That would bring us a few million dollars. Nevertheless, in the long run, it would prove to be a short-sighted policy.

[Husak] In many countries—e.g. Iraq—our outstanding debts are frozen. Is it realistic to expect the payments?

[Baksay] I am not a prophet. Only two possibilities exist. Either we have to give up on the debts or seek the possible avenues to retrieve them. I am trying for the latter alternative. We have to approach the debtor countries on an individual basis. Our latest success came from Egypt. We unfroze a debt of 25 million dollars there. On the other hand, in the short-term considerations, Iraq is lost.

[Husak] How much does Iraq owe us?

[Baksay] Approximately 4 billion dollars. Overdue payments are approximately 2.6 billion dollars.

[Husak] Mr. Minister, can you tell us how satisfied you are with current liberalization of foreign trade?

[Baksay] The laws we adopted fully liberalize foreign trade. I myself moved that private entrepreneurs who are not registered in the business register should under certain conditions be permitted to conduct business abroad. The Czech Republic Government passed the motion with certain changes. The Slovak Government turned it down.

[Husak] What about the surcharge on imports?

[Baksay] That is the business of the finance ministries. It is a certain type of protection of the stability of the currency and protection for our enterprises. We need to make sure that the internal convertibility supported from the resources of the IMF is stable. Numerous enterprises would collapse if we removed the surcharge altogether.

Economic Council Proposes Privatization of Banks

AU1204143591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 9 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

["ms"-signed report: "Even Banks Need Competition; The Economic Council of the CSFR Government Held a Session"]

[Excerpts] Improving the system of refinancing banks, establishing a provisional secondary market in securities, supporting the emergence of new banks, and bringing about the recovery and privatization of our largest financial institutions are some of the priorities of the CSFR financial sector in the immediate future.

This arises from the concept for the further development of the banking sector that was submitted by Engineer Miroslav Kerous, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, at yesterday's session of the Economic Council of the CSFR Government. [passage omitted]

The supply of banking products and services is to be significantly expanded by the activity of foreign banks in Czechoslovakia. [passage omitted] Even though the currently valid Law No. 158 of 1989 on banks and savings banks does not explicitly permit the operation of foreign banks on the Czechoslovak market, the Czechoslovak State Bank is issuing licenses to foreign banks even prior to the passing of a new law on banks. In awarding these licenses, it only permits affiliations [afilace] of these banks, with permits for the operation of branches being considered only in exceptional cases—in border areas, for example. In awarding licenses for universally oriented banks, the Czechoslovak State Bank requires minimum capital of $10 million.

State-owned banks are to be privatized, just like state-owned production and commercial companies; therefore, the Czechoslovak State Bank is preparing, in cooperation with the largest banks and with the World Bank, the audit of key Czechoslovak financial institutions. This audit, which is to be carried out within the first half of this year, will serve as a point of departure for the drafting of a development plan for each bank and for drawing up a privatization project. [passage omitted]

The Economic Council also discussed a proposal for the comprehensive integration of the Federal Material Reserves Administration in the economic reform. Our public has so far had only minimal opportunity to become acquainted with the mission and role of this organization. Let us, therefore, note, for information purposes, that federal material reserves (which also exist in advanced states, where they are called strategic reserves) consist of about 60 mostly imported raw materials, such as nonferrous metals, textile and chemical raw materials, fuels and lubricants, as well as grain and some staple foods. Engineer Dusan Strauch, chairman of the Federal Material Reserves Administration, stressed that most of these items are being stored with external

protectors [ochranovatele], most of them state enterprises. With advancing privatization, it will be necessary to resolve the problem of storage in facilities belonging to private persons as well. [passage omitted on need to permanently replace perishable strategic reserves and on the Economic Council's debate on the draft of a new Commercial Code]

The Economic Council of the CSFR Government was also briefed on negotiations with the Iranian central bank (Bank Markazi). It was revealed that, in accordance with the valid agreement on payments, which the Iranian side denounced last December, the accounting of mutual imports and exports in U.S. dollars will be terminated on 30 June 1991.

Gross Foreign Debt Increases to $8.1 Billion

LD1104221891 Prague CTK in English 2056 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 11 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Cabinet today discussed its report on social policy, which is to be submitted to the Federal Assembly (Parliament) for its debate on Czechoslovakia's economic situation and the government's economic policy.

The Cabinet approved the annual financial statement of the Czechoslovak State Bank for the 1990 fiscal year ending December 31, which showed a surprisingly low profit of 554 million crowns [korunas] (compared with the original estimate estimate of 3,500 million crowns), attributed by Bank President Josef Tosovsky to higher interest rates and exchange rate losses. The insolvency of enterprises increased enormously to the value of 53,600 million crowns.

Czechoslovakia's gross foreign debts rose by 200 million to 8,100 million U.S. dollars.

The Cabinet approved a bill regulating the disposal of waste aimed at providing maximum protection of health and the environment. The bill respects the guidelines of the Council of Ministers of the European Community.

The Cabinet approved a proposal that Czechoslovakia sign the 1951 Geneva Convention and the 1967 New York protocol on refugees, and agreed to the granting of humanitarian aid to Kurdish refugees in Turkey and Iran in the form of medicines, food and other necessities to a total value of 7.9 million crowns (263,000 U.S. dollars).

Social Democrats on Changing Party Affiliation

AU1204141991 Prague CTK in English 1657 GMT 10 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 10 (CTK)—The congress of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (April 6-7) showed that despite different views and stands the party is able to unite in its effort aimed at the development of pluralist democracy and fundamental restructuring of national economy, Chairman of the Party Jiri Horak told a press conference here today.

At present seven parliament deputies are Social Democratic Party members, Horak said. Referring to the recent transfer of seven Civic Forum (OF) deputies to the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party he said that in his opinion a change in political affiliation is a common phenomenon and documented it by naming world politicians who changed their political affiliation several times.

Horak said he has no information about the alleged effort of the group of Social Democrats of the OF at restoring the former Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party. Anybody can create a new party, he said but rejected the claims of the group of Social Democrats of the OF according to whom the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party merged with a significant part of the Communist Party, e.g., the Obroda (Revival) Club, during its weekend congress in Ostrava, North Moravia.

New Secretary General of the party Jozef Wagner (who was elected to the parliament for the Civic Forum) told journalists he has decided to enter the Social Democratic Party after becoming aware that the fulfillment of the Civic Forum election program exceeded its original framework. The seven deputies who transferred to the Social Democratic Party still work in the Civic Forum parliamentary group, he said.

Weiss on Accord Between Slovak, Czech Communists

AU1204200991 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Apr 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Peter Weiss, chairman of the Party of Democratic Left, by Vaclav Pergl; place and date not given: "With Peter Weiss Without Hesitation"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Pergl] What can you say about the association within a federation of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM] and the Party of Democratic Left [SDL]? Is it not possible for your party to be an all-state organization? As far as I know, some members of the KSCM have a leaning toward your party and, vice versa, some members of the SDL feel a great affinity to the KSCM.

[Weiss] Let us deal with one thing at a time. It is not only the legal reasons that make us preserve the congenial relationship of the KSCM and the SDL in a federation—maintaining the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as a political party, under the name of which our deputies were elected to the Slovak National Council and to the Federal Assembly—there also is an affinity of political policies and goals. The federation would be viable if a common political interest in its preservation prevails. Regarding the state-wide operation of the SDL—we are a political force active in the Slovak Republic and I do not see any reason for our registration in the Czech Republic. The leaning of some members of the KSCM to the SDL is a natural consequence of the uncompleted, or rather decelerated progress of the differentiation processes within the KSCM after the Olomouc congress.

However, that is above all an internal affair of the KSCM. I do not know of any SDL members for whom the KSCM is more attractive; however, references to the KSCM model are heard from the KSS/91 and SKS [Union Communists of Slovakia].

[Pergl] Is a federation possible that would include the current parties—the KSCM and the SDL—and also the newly formed communist organizations in Slovakia?

[Weiss] I will answer a question with another question. What use would then be the process of fundamental differentiation within the former Communist Party of Slovakia [KSS]) and the founding of the SDL if we were to reunite with those from whom we separated not because of the name but from principal political and theoretical reasons. [passage omitted]

VPN Slovak Council Appeals to ZDS

LD1504231291 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Open letter from the Presidium of the Public Against Violence (VPN) Slovak National Council to the representatives, members, and supporters of the Platform for Democratic Slovakia (ZDS); place and date not given]

[Text] The VPN movement is about to hold its extraordinary congress. In this context the question of a democratic course of action within the movement is being discussed most frequently. It is namely the Platform for Democratic Slovakia which argues that we are living in the time that demands a revolutionary course of action. Let us return therefore to the real legacy of 17 November. Everything that has happened since 17 November has been, in fact, linked with the path from the state that broke fundamental human rights toward the state governed by the rule of law and respecting fundamental democratic principles.

The 12-point program put forward by VPN to our citizens consisted of 12 points concerning moving away from injustice toward the state governed by the rule of law. Democratic elections and new laws, the adoption of which by the Slovak National Council and Federal Assembly often cost so much effort, are an inseparable part of this transformation. The power-sharing law and the drafting of the Constitutions are irreplaceable steps on our way to creating a democratic state governed by the rule of law.

In both Czechoslovakia and Slovakia, VPn has chosen from the beginning the way of legitimate, lawful steps toward democrcy. In this way VPN became before the elections the guarantor of democratic changes in Slovakia, and after the elections it became jointly with its coalition partners the protector and executor of democratic principles. Among those principles is the principle that till the next elections its deputies both in the Slovak National Council and Federal Assembly represent the interests of the 30 percent of voters who voted for VPN. This applies regardless of the results of opinion polls carried out between elections, as these polls express the momentary popularity of individual parties and movements and the impact of their policy on the public—but they do not change the results of the elections.

As VPN has been linked during its entire existence with creating democracy through lawful steps, it cannot reject this principle regarding the movement itself. This is reflected by the resolutions adopted at the latest session of the VPN Slovak Council in Trencianske Teplice on 6 April 1991. They define the only possible way how to bahave in the given situation in a democratic way, respecting the statutes and organizational principles of the movement. The resolutions adopted in Trencianske Teplice at the same time define the legitimate way of forming the Platform for Democratic Slovakia both before and after the extraordinary congress. They do not represent the way of confrontation, but a proposal of a reasonable solution that respects the VPN principles as well as the factual situation within the movement. To cast doubt on them means to cast doubt on everything characteristic of VPN since its foundation.

For the sake of the fundamental VPN principles we call publicly on you, representatives and members of the Platform for Democratic Slovakia, to consistently observe in your future actions the principles that you yourselves helped to outline in the period following November 1988.

[Signed] Presidium of the VPN Slovak Council

Resolution Adopted by VPN Slovak Council

AU1204145591 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 8 Apr 91 p 2

[Resolution adopted by the Public Against Violence movement Slovak Council at its extraordinary session held in Trencianske Teplice on 6 April: "Public Against Violence Movement Slovak Council Resolution Adopted on 6 April 1991"]

[Text] 1. The Public Against Violence [VPN] movement Slovak Council maintains that the departure of VPN Slovak Council members—who founded the For a Democratic Slovakia [ZDS] platform—from the session held on 5 March 1991 caused the crisis situation within the VPN movement.

2. In the interest of resolving the crisis situation within the VPN movement, the VPN Slovak Council—in harmony with Article 7 Paragraph 1 of the VPN Articles and Article 3 Paragraph 3 of the Republican Assembly Rules of Procedure ("To discuss serious issues, the VPN Slovak Council may convene an extraordinary assembly. Delegates who participated in the last regular assembly will participate in the extraordinary assembly")—has convened an extraordinary assembly in Kosice on 27 April 1991 which will put the new situation into a legal perspective.

3. The VPN Slovak Council recommends that VPN and ZDS councils in the districts differentiate themselves prior to the extraordinary VPN assembly so that independent VPN and ZDS assemblies can be held following the extraordinary assembly.

4. The VPN Slovak Council Presidium (or rather the VPN Slovak Council) is prepared to negotiate at any time before the extraordinary assembly with ZDS representatives who are members of the VPN Slovak Council.

5. The VPN Slovak Council has made note of the resignation of its member Tomas Rajnoh. The VPN Slovak Council, in a secret ballot, has co-opted Pavel Hoffman as a member.

SNS Voices Favor for Independent Slovak State

LD1504214491 Prague CTK in English 1740 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 15 (CTK)—New Slovak National Party (SNS) Chairman Jozef Prokes reaffirmed today that the SNS favours the establishment of an independent Slovak Republic but it is not against a state treaty between the Slovak and Czech republics if most Slovaks wish it.

The SNS position is that the Constitution of the Slovak republic as an independent state must be adopted first so that Slovakia can become a subject of international law. After this, it can enter into a union with another state, Prokes told CTK.

"The Slovak Republic must be a good homeland to all its inhabitants, including ethnic minorities. We expressed this principle in the SNS draft of a new Slovak constitution in which we stress that the Slovak Republic grants the national minorities living on its territory at least such rights as are guaranteed under internationally recognized conventions, and creates conditions for the free and all-round development of national cultures, traditions and languages", said Prokes, who was elected party chairman last March.

The SNS was founded in December 1989 and in the June 1990 parliamentary elections won 15 seats in the 300-member Federal Assembly and 23 in the 150-member Slovak parliament. It declared itself heir to a party of the same name founded in the 1870's as the first Slovak party ever.

Slovakia's Democratic Party Favors 'Common State'

LD1504210791 Prague CTK in English 1654 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 15 (CTK)—The breakup of the Czechoslovak state would be the worst possible outcome for relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics, said Jan Holcik, head of the Democratic Party in Slovakia (DS) and Slovak minister of industry at a press conference today.

Holcik said that the DS supports a common state for Czechs and Slovaks and that the best way to strengthen state unity would be to draw up a treaty between the two republics, spelling out the constitutional powers of each one.

The DS is currently part of a Slovak government coalition along with the Public Against Violence (VPN) movement, the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) and the Hungarian Independent Initiative (MNI).

Initially, the KDH was alone in its support of the idea of a treaty between the republics, and critics of the proposal argued that a treaty could be concluded only between independent states, not between two republics within a federation.

Czech Premier Petr Pithart said in a radio interview today that some kind of treaty could be considered, but not if it meant bypassing the legally elected federal parliament. Any treaty or other similar document would have to affirm the willingness of both republics to remain in the federation, he added.

Holcik said the DS considers it an internal affair of the Czech Republic whether or not Moravia and Silesia, the republic's two eastern provinces, could also take part as equal members in the federation, but the DS favours a federation with just two members.

Slovaks Accused of Undermining Federation

AU1504145691 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 10 Apr 91 p 2

[Jiri Leschtina commentary: "Beavers and Ostriches"]

[Text] When—during a heated debate at the most recent State Finance Council session—[Federal Finance Minister] Vaclav Klaus asked Slovak Finance Minister Michal Kovac if they had come to Prague to break up the federation, the Slovak minister fervently assured those present that this was not the case. Soon afterward, he demanded that enterprises' and associations' profit tax and the population's income tax be transferred from the federation's to the republics' jurisdiction. This would mean concluding an agreement between Czechs and Slovaks on dual taxation, an agreement that can only be concluded between two sovereign states.

Slovak ministers are building their dams as energetically as beavers and, under the unfurled banner of the federation, are gnawing their way toward dismantling the program for a single economic reform and toward its pulverization into the Slovak version of a quasi-market economy with state social care. They are making use of appetizing sounding arguments about specific Slovak features and the poorer economic level in Slovakia where enterprises need gentler taxes and higher state subsidies. Of course, Slovakia does not have the resources to pump such an amount of money into the economy; therefore, in the same breath as their demands for economic autonomy, the Slovak ministers are calling for a kind of federation guise that would allow them to draw funds from the central budget for the baneful

experiment of a new "third way." However, they have immediately grabbed this proclaimed federation by the throat and—under the threat of social and political storms—are trying to cast it into the maelstrom of inflation and total disruption.

If Slovak ministers behave like beavers, then Czech political representatives are reminiscent of ostriches with their heads buried deep in the sand. In the past, Prime Minister Pithart often spoke of his excellent working and personal relations with his colleague Meciar instead of unmasking—in good time—the transparent tricks being played by the Bratislava "man with a dumbbell" and his ministerial suite in an attempt to seize absolute power. The president of the Republic is keeping quiet about the fact that, by his Martin declaration about secret negotiation with Soviet generals concerning arms supplies—which belong within the federation's exclusive jurisdiction—the Slovak prime minister has made a public fool out of him. Minister Klaus, who has staked everything on the success of his radical economic reform, is reproaching journalists for unnecessarily dramatizing the disputes between Prague and Bratislava instead of publicly revealing the essence of the economic primitivism that is today being invoked above the Danube. His party is now cautiously reconnoitering the land in Slovakia and the minister himself is preparing to attend a "litmus" meeting in Trencin at the end of the week. I am afraid he will be unpleasantly surprised. The cheap popularity of those offering simple and shortsighted solutions is increasing in Slovakia day by day.

The real concept of radical economic reform is today being exclusively defended in Slovakia by an unpopular handful of pragmatists led by Slovak Deputy Prime Minister J. Kucerak. It is incomprehensible that, so far, no Czech politician has publicly defended him. A clear and principled stance on the Czech side—at least, a few weeks ago—could have eased the situation for those Slovak representatives who, thanks to whipped up Meciar-mania, find themselves more and more in the role of "dissidents" in their own government and legislature. Meanwhile, they can perhaps be sure of one thing—that, following the declaration of a Slovak state, Czech President Havel will offer them political asylum.

Kovac Responds to Czech Criticism

AU1504153091 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 11 Apr 91 p 2

[Statement by Slovak Finance Minister Michal Kovac; place and date not given]

[Text] In connection with the article in MLADA FRONTA DNES, the question arises of who Mr. Leschtina is and from whom he has information about the course of the session of the Finance Council. The article is filled with invectives and distortions of facts. It is clearly stated in the law on division of powers that the two republics will avail themselves of generated resources so they do not have to draw money from the central budget. Temporarily, for the year 1991, the following formula was adopted for dividing total proceeds of the profit and sales taxes: The federal budget will receive 40 percent, the budget of the Czech Republic 35 percent, and the budget of the Slovak Republic 25 percent. Consequently, the budget principles deviate from the previously adopted principle that the needs of the republics would be financed from their own resources. The awl has come out of the sack of the author or, rather of those who are behind him in that they want to preserve the redistribution of total tax proceeds and, thereby, the opportunity for federal bodies to feed on the resources generated in the two republics. This approach is paradoxical in that the interests of the Czech Republic are being identified with federal interests. This identity of interests does not apply to Slovakia. I would like to draw attention to the fact that when, for example, we demand softer taxes, we do not want them at the expense of the Czech Republic and when we want to extend subsidies differently, we do not want to do so at the expense of the Czech Republic either. We want from the federal budget only what we had extended. All resources of the federal budget come from the two republics. We are convinced that we contribute one-third to federal resources but we are not as convinced that we also receive for the needs of Slovakia one-third of federal services.

Minister Rejects Slovak View of Economic Problems

AU1604074291 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 10 Apr 91 p 1

[Interview with Federal Strategic Planning Minister Pavel Hoffman by Juraj Gressner; place and date not given: "The Four Pillars of Economic Reform"]

[Text] [Gressner] Doubts have recently begun to be expressed—especially in Slovakia—on the scenario for radical economic reform, a scenario in whose preparation you actively participated.

[Hoffman] The scenario for radical economic reform, which is intended to guarantee our transition to a market economy, was drafted by the best Czech and Slovak economists. When it was being approved in the Federal Assembly, no qualified alternative or presentation of opposing views was presented.

[Gressner] During the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement Slovak Council extraordinary session held in Trencianske Teplice on Saturday [6 April], you stated that—from the Slovak point of view—economic reform must be based on four fundamental pillars. What are they?

[Hoffman] The first one is not casting doubts on the fundamental philosophy behind its scenario, because this is a scenario for a simple transition to a market

economy without any third—hybrid—possibilities. The second pillar is the assertion that Slovakia's economic problems are not caused by the reform.

[Gressner] What are they caused by then?

[Hoffman] They are caused by the structure of the Slovak economy during the past 40 years; the reform underway at the moment merely reveals these problems. They involve structural, technical, and export weaknesses.

[Gressner] How can they be resolved?

[Hoffman] Only by means of a radical economic reform; that is the third fundamental pillar.

[Gressner] Now, only one remains....

[Hoffman] The fourth pillar is our assertion that the complicated problems facing Slovakia cannot be resolved in an isolated manner, separately, or in an enclosed space. They can only be resolved within the open space of the entire Czechoslovak economy, an economy that utilizes the Czechoslovak market's full range as well as the full range of its resources. From this point of view, the hypothesis "everyone for himself" is nonsense, untimely, and anti-Slovak!

[Gressner] What, then, is your opinion of the proclamation concerning Slovakia's national and specific conditions, a proclamation that—apparently—it is necessary to take into consideration when introducing economic reform?

[Hoffman] A national perspective normally adds to problems that, in essence, are not national ones. These are problems of a concrete nature; however, they occur in a specific territory.

[Gressner] What are they specifically?

[Hoffman] For example, the conversion issue. We all know very well why the armament industry was established in Slovakia. It was established there during the former Republic so it was located as far as possible from Germany and it was established there under the totalitarian Communist regime so that it was as close as possible to the fraternal Soviet Union....

[Gressner] Conversion, however, immediately affects Slovaks.

[Hoffman] If Hungarians or Ruthenians lived in Martin, Dubnica, or Detva, would there be a national problem?

[Gressner] Its resolution has a national character, however.

[Hoffman] It does not! The conversion issue can be resolved by transferring to another type of production. Not only in Slovakia, but in any other country.

[Gressner] If this happens, there will be unemployment, social shocks....

[Hoffman] This is a very serious issue, but it is necessary to make the following clear: We took on a social policy that for a long time had exceeded the circumstances of the Czechoslovak economy's efficiency. Now, in its current phase, it is becoming asocial because it is continuing to exceed the framework of our possibilities. If it begins to exceed them excessively, then, the resources—that we should spend to ensure that we achieve prosperity in the future—will be consumed passively without improving the economy and, thereby, the population's social situation.

Meciar Discusses Economic Reform in Radio Address

AU1604072591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Apr 91 p 3

["(c)"-signed report: "Slovakia Is Not Against Reform!]

[Text] "Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister" is the name of a new regular radio program that the editorial staff of Radiozurnal [Radio Journal] prepared for listeners for the first time at 1300 yesterday. According to Slovak Prime Minister V. Meciar, by broadcasting this program, Slovak Radio is compensating for the gap that has arisen in his addresses on Slovak Television.

In his address, the Slovak prime minister expressed his views—among other things—on yesterday's meeting between Fedor Gal, Public Against Violence [VPN] movement Slovak Council chairman, and FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. He stated that, during this kind of visit, such meetings involving representatives from political parties and movements are normal, but he expressed surprise about why the German guest only met F. Gal. He expressed his opinion that the VPN wants to rid itself of its right-wing deviation label by making contact with the Liberal party that Hans-Dietrich Genscher represents. Moreover, according to V. Meciar, "many politicians who are less popular among their own people are convinced that if they are seen with other important people, their image will improve."

Apropos the Slovak Government's activity in connection with rendering an account of its work to the Slovak legislature, Vladimir Meciar said that the government's basic failure is that it has not drafted a specific program for implementing economic reform in Slovakia; however, he rejects the disinformation that Slovakia is against reform. "Slovakia merely wants the general principles of reform to apply to specific steps to make sure that the issues involving the state's influence, social impacts, foreign trade, and investment contributions are resolved. The hypothesis that, first of all, everything has to decay and then—on the basis of a decayed world—we will build a new one, is an erroneous hypothesis," stressed the Slovak prime minister.

In reply to a question about what kind of development he expects on the Slovak political scene, Vladimir Meciar said that he personally continues to stand by the

VPN's program and preelection promises and that he considers them to be real and fulfillable. He pointed out, however, that the political movements and parties—like the voters themselves—have changed and differentiated. He reported that on 24 April the Slovak National Council should assess his activity. "I do not know what the assessment and conclusions will be, but I do know that I have done nothing to damage the law, the government's program, the VPN's program, or my honor," declared Vladimir Meciar. Apropos the VPN assembly convened for 27 April in Kosice, he just said the following sentence: "I am not a great optimist."

Meciar on Slovakia's Specific Economic Problems

AU1604075291 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 10 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

["(bjn)"-signed report: "Slovakia En Route From Crisis"]

[Text] To believe today that the course of economic reform in the Czech and Slovak Republics will be identical means being very naive politically and lacking foresight. It is a consequence of analyzing erroneous conclusions and of being incapable of drawing conclusions from history. Slovakia is searching—within the framework of its possibilities—for an adequate road toward implementing the kind of economic reform that would cause less pain than Mr. Klaus has promised, as he did recently in his instructive lessons on television in which he prepared the population for a serious operation in which the survival of the patient is not completely certain. Slovakia—at least a number of its political and economic representatives—is considering whether the operation is necessary at all and, if yes, then whether there is a less risky course of action.

This is how Slovak Prime Minister V. Meciar clearly formulated his view during his regular meeting with journalists yesterday. He also said that when we initiated reform we did not correctly estimate all the factors such as, for example, restrictive policy, pricing policy, the number of unemployed, and so on. Because Bratislava has two principal views on the further course of reform—one view worked out by Minister Rudolf Filkus and the second by Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Josef Kucerak—the government has asked the Slovak National Council to postpone by one week passing judgment on the future of reform in Slovakia. Filkus' draft—as described by Prime Minister Meciar—is based on certain specifics, on the need for certain structural changes, and so on, while Kucerak's concept, in Meciar's description, is based "on a more theoretical plane."

Meciar also said that Slovak Government policy cannot be based on "repeating theoretical or ideological theses. Policy must be applied to specific conditions, and these conditions mean asserting structural policy and having premeditated tactics ready for opening up to the foreign market. This means that we also must plan a certain way of creating jobs and the transfer of people into the tertiary sphere. A very rational investment policy involving the acquisition of foreign resources, must also be planned. If not, then all the rest will virtually become mere speculation about reform. Acceleration of reform is only possible if we accelerate the implementation of specific steps instead of implementing general theses and intentions that are presented to us as reform. We have significant differences over this in the government."

Not seeing any specific features in Slovakia means being unable to see as far as one's nose, V. Meciar said further. He commented that the issue is not to look for Slovakia's specific features at any price and he added that all the negative impacts of reform in the Slovak Republic today are also felt in the Czech Republic, or they appear there a few weeks later. When asked by a reporter from HOSPODARSKE NOVINY about jurisdiction for such a course of action, V. Meciar responded: "I believe that Slovakia has enough jurisdiction in order to be able to carry out structural changes on its territory. The federal government remains at the macro-economic level and specific applications must be carried out by the republican governments."

Civic Movement Supports Civic Forum Ministers

LD1204174691 Prague CTK in English 1605 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 12 (CTK)—The Civic Movement (OH) supports Civic Forum (OF) ministers irrespective of whether or not they have switched to one or another stream after the split in the OF, OH spokesman Vladimir Zelezy told journalists here today.

The OF split into two parts—the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) and the Civic Movement (OH) last February.

Zelezy said that calls have recently arisen in the Czech National Council (parliament) for the reconstruction of the Czech Government. Similar tendencies are apparent in the Federal Assembly (parliament) as well. This concerns the ministers-members of the OH in particular, Zelez-y said.

The destabilization of the governments can result in the destabilization of the whole political scene which is evident in Slovakia. Zelezy said that professional capability and moral qualities of government members should be the only criterion of their evaluation. The OH will observe principles of filling ministerial posts, Zelezny added.

Federal parliament Deputy Ivan Rynda (OH) said that the recent failure of the Federal Parliament to pass the land bill proved that a part of the victorious political force ceases to support its government. "The Parliament thus ceases to be a 300-member working body and becomes a political battlefield", Rynda said.

Irish Prime Minister Arrives on Official Visit

LD1104213491 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1700 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Text] Irish Prime Minister Charles James Haughey arrived in Prague today on an official visit at the invitation of Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa. He is accompanied by representatives of Irish trade and industrial circles.

Visa-Free Travel Accord Signed

AU1504151591 Prague CTK in English 1552 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 12 (CTK)—Irish experiences in settling problems of accommodation with the European Community can be used by Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa told journalists here today after his talks with his Irish counterpart Charles James Haughey.

Calfa said they exchanged views with Haughey on the contents of an agreement on Czechoslovakia's association to the European Community and agreed that the agreement on visa-free travels they signed today is a formal prerequisite for the development of relations between their countries. So far Czechoslovakia and Ireland have exchanged goods worth about 40 million dollars annually.

Haughey said he did not believe that Czechoslovakia's internal disputes have a negative bearing on the country's position in the international community. He stated that conditions in Czechoslovakia are very favorable for the country's return into Europe and that they are actually the best among the Central and Eastern European countries.

Haughey, who arrived on an official visit to Czechoslovakia yesterday, is accompanied by industrialists and businessmen. He said that these people currently work on joint projects mainly in banking which he considers one of the most important for Czechoslovakia.

Czech Premier Petr Pithart told journalists that Haughey told him he was certain Czechoslovakia's current problems with the constitutional setup will be successfully settled and will not hinder the country's entry into the European Community.

Pithart also spoke about the Irish offer of scholarships.

Haughey was not received by President Vaclav Havel as originally planned as Havel still does not feel well due to a slight form of influenza.

Visiting Irish Premier Charles James Haughey appreciated during his today's meeting with Czechoslovak Parliament Chairman Alexander Dubcek his personal share in the country's effort at democracy.

Dubcek assured Haughey, who arrived here for a visit yesterday, that Czechoslovakia will aim at joining the European Community. The country does not want to disappoint the states which rendered support in its entry to the Council of Europe, he said.

The Irish premier was awarded here today a silver medal of Charles University symbolizing sympathies between the two countries and future scientific and cultural cooperation.

Later today the Irish premier met with Deputy Chairman of the Czech National Council (Parliament) Jan Kasal to discuss the functioning of legislative processes in the Czech Parliament. Haughey underlined the significance of stability and indivisibility of European states.

Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa gave an official dinner at Prague Castle tonight to honor the visiting Irish Premier.

Cooperation Discussed

LD1204111891 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Excerpts] I welcome by colleague Olga Santova in the studio. Good morning to you. You have just returned from Hrzan Palace where a news conference with Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey and Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa has just ended.

[Santova] [passage omitted] Prime Ministers Calfa and Haughey signed an agreement on visa-free travel between Czechoslovakia and the Irish Republic before meeting the press. They discussed a number of spheres in (?developing) cooperation and the assistance which Ireland can grant to our country in the course of its entering the EC.

Responding to a Czechoslovak radio correspondent, Charles Haughey said that in his entourage includes nine prominent representatives of Irish industry and trade and that right now they are having talks with Czechoslovak specialists about specific forms of cooperation. The Irish side will grant us experience and assistance in the fields of banking, in managers' training, and in other areas. Big countries are able to look after themselves, said the Irish prime minsiterr, but both Czechoslovakia and Ireland are small countries and they must, therefore, help each other.

Haughey Describes Talks, Departs

LD1304192591 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 13 Apr 91

[Petr Susko report on news conference by Irish Prime Minister Charles James Haughey with unidentified foreign and domestic reporters in the Borik Hoetl; date not given]

[Text] The program of Irish Prime Minister Charles James Haughey's short—barely eight-hour—visit to Bratislava was indeed busy. The official welcome was

followed by meetings with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko, and then a short news conference at which the Irish prime minister could answer only three questions from journalists for reasons of time. The news conference, held in the function hall of the Borik Hotel, was covered by our colleague Petr Susko:

[Susko] The opening minutes of this lightning news conference were a summing-up of today's activities by both prime ministers. Charles Haughey noted that his visit to Czechoslovakia had both an Irish and a European dimension, in that Ireland is a member of the EC. The aim was to assess the opportunities for cooperation and to be as specific as possible about these; that is one of the reasons why the Irish delegation included representatives of state, semi- private, and private business sectors.

Vladimir Meciar reported on the content of their talks, which took place on two levels, political and economic. They discussed possibilities for mutual trade and joint ventures—he specifically noted Ireland's interest in our tractors and glassware—and opening branches of some Irish banks in Slovakia. We, on the other hand, are interested in supplies of fish, animal hides, and electronic goods from Ireland.

The question how do you assess your visit to our country is by now a conventional journalistic opening gambit, and due to pressure of time, it was not possible to make any intense analyses:

[Haughey in English, fading to Slovak translation] At the moment, trade with your country is, unfortunately, at a very low level, the Irish prime minister said, and it probably will not be possible to do anything about this in the immediate term. The aim of my visit was to pave the way for further cooperation. We can offer you experts in the sphere of administrative management, computer technology, and marketing management to assist the transition of your economy from a centralist model to a market-based one. On the broader European scene, I think that the most important thing for Czechoslovakia now is to secure an association agreement with the EC as soon as possible; that will open up many new possibilities. It is not my specialty, but I believe that Czechoslovakia's future lies in linking itself into the EC—in the short term through an association agreement and later, perhaps, by becoming full-fledged memebrs.

[Susko] Asked whether anything in our country had surprised him, the Irish prime minister replied in the negative:

[Haughey] No, I have naturally been well informed of what is happening in your country. Ireland and the EC are following events in Czechoslovakia very attentively, not only for its own sake, but also because they can see the broader Eastern European context. Europe's political and economic stability are inseparable. We see Czechoslovakia as a sort of front runner or, if you like, the first one over the fence which will serve as a precedent for what happens throughout Eastern Europe. If anything did surprise me, it was the fact that political problems are the same everywhere. If we don't have any, then we politicians will create some in order to find ourselves something to do.

[Announcer] Prime Minister Haughey took off this afternoon in his special plane to return to Dublin.

Meciar Welcomes Joint Slovak-Irish Cooperation

LD1304141291 Prague CTK in English 1331 GMT 13 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 13 (CTK)—The development of cooperation between the Slovak and Irish Republics is welcome for both sides, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar and visiting Irish Premier Charles James Haughey said during their meeting here today. The Irish premier visited Bratislava at the end of his three-day official visit to Czechoslovakia. Meciar told CTK that they also discussed Czechoslovakia's attitude to the European communities and underlined the Irish side's interest in Slovakia and opinions of its representatives as regards the federation and the process of European integrity. He also said that Haughey confirmed on the basis of his experiences that Slovakia's political climate is different from the distorted picture presented sometimes abroad.

President Havel Leaves for EBRD London Meeting

LD1404134591 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 14 Apr 91

[Text] President Vaclav Havel left for London today where he will attend a ceremony of the opening of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development tomorrow. He is accompanied by Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus and Czechoslovak State Bank Chairman Josef Tosovsky.

It is expected that Vaclav Havel will meet British Prime Minister John Major and other representatives in London.

Reportage on Dubcek's Visit to Germany

WA1504190891

For reportage on the visit by Federal Assembly President Alexander Dubcek to Germany, including reports on his talks with Landtag President Wilhelm Vordranso, see the Germany section of the 15 April West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

MSZP Candidate Wins Budapest District Election

LD1504152491 Budapest MTI in English 0903 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 15 (MTI)—According to preliminary results of the second round of by-elections held in Hungary at the weekend, the 9th constituency of Budapest's 7th district will be returning Pal Fillo from the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) [MSZP] to parliament.

In the course of the voting, prolonged until late on Sunday evening, 11,565 citizens, 25.61 per cent of eligible voters, turned out to vote.

The voting for the six candidates was as follows:

Frigyes Bodzsar, Independent: 129 votes (1.13 per cent); Pal Fillo, HSP: 4,374 (38.19); Rudolf Groo, Alliance of Free Democrats: 2,837 (24.77); Gyula Grosics, Hungarian Democratic Forum: 1,833 (16.01); Dr. Zoltan Illes, Federation of Young Democrats: 1,796 (15.68); Dr. Vilmos Michaletzky, Party of Pensioners, Hungarian People's Party, National Peasants' Party, National Association for Political Prisoners: 483 (4.22).

Final results of the by-elections will be released later.

Coalition's 'Fiasco' Discussed

LD1504153591 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Pal Fillo, who will occupy the evacuated seat of Gabor Demszky in the National Assembly, was a member of the former legislature, too. In the morning the Socialist Party [MSZP] evaluated the result of yesterday's by-elections. We should also know that Pal Fillo is a 37-year-old print-worker, Gabor Kereszti reports:

[Kereszti] The boat of the coalition is leaking, Lajos Matyas Szabo said, evaluating the result of the by-elections that took place at the weekend. The fact that the MSZP won in [Budapest's] seventh district and in the eighth constituency of the third district shows that the party has taken a step up on the popularity scale. The reason for the coalition's fiasco is that people have realized that the country needs experts of whom the coalition has no abundance. Another contributing factor to the fiasco, the Socialists claim, is that the coalition parties did not adhere to the ethical rules during the election. As an example, one of their leaflets that appeared on the streets after the first round when Pal Fillo was already in the lead read: Are you aware that a candiate who brought about poverty by serving the old system is in the lead?

According to Lajos Matyas Szabo, one cannot achieve political merits today just by discrediting the Socialists. Politics are becoming increasingly alienated from the people. For this reason a more informal tone will be necessary in the future.

Evaluating his own victory, Pal Fillo said that he succeeded in finding this tone already during the campaign. On the other hand, a representative of the left-wing youth association reckoned that it is due to nothing other than the fact that Fillo is well-known in Erzsebetvaros [traditional name of the district]: he was born there, he lives and works there, thus he has a firm base of voters. This is also indicated by the fact that this time he received as many votes as in the first round.

In the National Assembly he wants to deal first of all with housing affairs and the problems of the tax system, Pal Fillo added.

President Goncz Returns From Visit to India

LD1504214891 Budapest MTI in English 1517 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 15 (MTI)—Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, returned from his five-day official visit to India on Monday. He was met at Ferihegy airport by Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of parliament.

Speaking to journalists on his arrival, Goncz said that his trip to India had been successful in every respect. The Hungarian head of state was impressed by the high degree of openness and friendship the Indian hosts had displayed towards their Hungarian guests.

The political consultations showed that Indian politicians are well aware of Hungary's endeavours and the role it is playing in the transformation of the East-Central European region, he said.

Interviewed on Visit

LD1504215791 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by Jozsef Szabo in Budapest on 15 April; from the "Extra" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Szabo] I think I have to ask the president of the Republic, given the present situation in our country, how he assesses his visit to India from an economic point of view.

[Goncz] This visit was prepared, so we assessed in advance more or less what possibilities we had, where exactly the possibilities were, and where we could contribute to India's progres with our momentary free capacities. As I saw, they were also more or less aware of this during our talks. We did not ask for help or beg for money. What happened was that we started extremely fruitful cooperation, which is very useful for both parties. As the beginning steps had already been taken, the 160 million [currency not specified] is not by chance; we continued this. [sentence as heard] They have serious problems with the Soviet market, too. They used to buy a lot of things from there that they cannot buy now. On the other hand, spare parts and other things are important for them. Now there is a visible interest from the Indian capital in joint ventures in Eastern Europe. The large enterprises are visibly aware of the strategy that they have to have now. [passage omitted]

There has been huge interest in us. They have received us very warmly. This was not in proportion to the size of Hungary, nor in proportion with the importance they have exhibited toward us. This, I think, was a sign of Hungary's political role. On the other hand, they wanted to emphasize in some way the importance of their participation in Eastern Europe. Third, they are also in the middle of an extraordinarily painful process of transformation and reassessment because, after all, they too...this country too is at the same time capitalist as well as socialist. It is very strange; privatization is a problem for them too.

[Szabo] [passage omitted] What can the most important link between Hungary and India be in international politics?

[Goncz] In the course of my talks I offered, just as I offered to the Japanese as well that we should have regular consultations. I feel that Hungarian foreign policy is not tied only to Europe. Hungarian foreign policy is balanced just as Hungarian trade and the Hungarian economy are balanced, when it is not only Europe that is present but the Pacific Ocean region and Asia, too. Now, undoubtedly, the most significant stabilizing factor is India. [passage omitted]

It is by no means a bad thing if we maintain close relations with them, all the more so because if their intentions are successful—which we too, I think, should support—India will become a permanent member of the UN Security Council. Then it should be able to lay the foundation to its original moral world power status and now, let us be frank, to its real world power weight too. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] What impression did you get during the visit about what they know about us and what they are interested in in our policies?

[Goncz] It is very strange that they, just like in the United States, and leading circles who practice politics know practically everything. Here, too, I noted with surprise that I could not say anything in general terms either to Rajiv Gandhi or to the prime minister or to the leaders of the opposition parties about Hungary that they did not know. It was interesting that they accepted our arguments (?without) reservation, that they noticed the common interests despite the difference in weight, and they definitely welcomed this opening with interest and affection. I trust that as we have done this with the leaders of three big opposition parties. Whatever the fate of this election may be, the ball is going to roll on now, and I think that whoever comes to the central government, whether a coalition or not, will go through on a ministerial and deputy ministerial level where these things are arranged. The intention was important and speaking to the nationalist Hindi party or to Rajiv Gandhi, who represented the Congress Party, I did not see differences in intention. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] Obviously they expected information from you, Mr. President, about Hungarian events, the Hungarian situation. They asked us, as those who are at home in this area, about Hungary's neighbor, the Soviet Union. What was the answer to this?

[Goncz] We cannot go anywhere in the world without being asked as neighbors of the Soviet Union, about what effect the processes in the Soviet Union will have in Central Europe and what will happen in the Soviet Union. I could not say anything other than that, in essence, this area will obviously be upgraded, that the Soviet economic situation will definitely effect Hungary. I find it unlikely that anything that happens in the Soviet Union would change the basic tendencies of the Hungarian political situation. I could also say, and they always asked whether we would break all our relations with the Soviet Union or not—I told them that we did not even consider breaking our relationship. The Soviet Union is an important partner for us. We want to have friendly relations with them. The direction of the development of the two countries is essentially the same, only in a different phase. The two economies complement each other.

I told them that Hungary is aiming toward Western Europe, that it wants to become a member of the EEC and the EC. This has economic and political preconditions; therefore, I cannot say exactly when this will happen. I never denied for a second that we have problems. It is interesting that it came up more times than in my other foreign trips whether Hungarian social tensions will explode and what their effect will be. They obviously concentrate on social tension very much. Businessmen asked this as well as politicians.

[Szabo] Let us talk about the Hungarian economy. What is your impression? How do they see the Hungarian economic situation today?

[Goncz] Their picture is definitely simplified. They think in general terms. It is very difficult to see details from such a distance. I did not feel the optimism that is almot obligatory with the American or German politicians or businessmen for example. Here they (?rather) asked me questions. I would like to add that the difference in the sizes of the two countries effects the way of thinking, too. This is a country of 800 million. [passage omitted]

This whole visit had a political and an economic side to it, not to mention the emotional side that was extremly warm on both sides.

Constitutional Court on Use of Identity Numbers

AU1504141891 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 11 Apr 91 p 4

["D.D."-signed report: "Can We Throw Away Our New Identity Cards?"]

[Text] The Constitutional Court has declared the decree establishing the mandatory use of identity numbers in official documents, registers, identity procedures, and jurisdictional procedures null and void—a decree also

stipulating that identity numbers had to be stamped into identity cards. The decision of the Constitutional Court takes immediate effect.

We asked Constitutional Court General Secretary Dr. Andras Hollo about the details of this decision. Asked whether the new Hungarian identity cards—which feature identity numbers—are unconstitutional, Hollo replied: "Precisely, they are unconstitutional. In the future, identity numbers will not appear on identity cards. The old registering system will remain valid until 31 December 1991. Further measures pertaining to identity cards do not fall under the Constitutional Court's jurisdiction." Asked how the Constitutional Court's decision would affect the Supervising Office for Taxes and Financial Affairs [APEH], Hollo answered that "in the future, not even the APEH will be entitled to ask for the identity numbers of its clients; however, to avoid delays, until the end of 1991, the tax office will be able to obtain this data from the population registry office."

In relation to this issue, the APEH issued a communique for our editorial staff through MTI, stating that, given that the decision would affect the tax office's ability to ask and make use of identity numbers, the APEH believed that the National Assembly should modify relevant decrees in the taxation law.

In a reply to our enquiries, Dr. Ferenc Horvath, leader of the State Population Registry Office [ANH], informed us that in his opinion, nobody had any idea of how to replace identity numbers—neither the administrative directorate of the Interior Ministry [BT Igazgatasrendeszete], nor anybody else knows how to find a substitute. So far, not even the ANH knows how to replace the current system, and Horvath informed us that he only found out about the Constitutional Court's decision on the news. How will we be able to prove our identity in the future? Horvath believes that we will use different documents in different places. In some places, we will need our birth certificate, in others, our address, our work certificate, or data concerning our parents.

National Assembly Meets, Examines Bills

LD1504224691 Budapest MTI in English 1848 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 15 (MTI)—During parliament's Monday plenary session, MPs [members of parliament] paid a one-minute standing tribute to the victims of the Second World War of both sides, as well as to the Soviet soldiers killed on Hungarian soil during the course of military engagements.

The commemoration was initiated by Tibor Zimanyi of the Hungarian Democratic Forum in his contribution before the agenda, stressing that the spring of 1945 had indeed brought liberation for Hungary. This historic watershed should be marked even if the country's freedom from Nazi rule lasted only until its occupation by Soviet troops.

In defiance of the decision of the parliament's house committee, the compensation law was put forward for debate during the Monday plenary session, at the proposal of the Independent Smallholders, Party.

At its session on Monday morning, the Smallholders, parliamentary group decided to try to persuade MPs to go ahead with the debate over the bill this week, notwithstanding that, at the request of the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD), the constitutional court is currently examining certain items of the bill for compliance with the constitutional law. (The parliamentary debate has been going on for several weeks.)

Last week the Constitutional Court warned parliament that legislation can only follow a ruling by the court. This is the first occasion on which the Constitutional Court is to test a bill, and not a law, for its constitutionality.

Smallholder group leader Istvan Borocz stated that should the debate be postponed, the faction would protest by staying away from session for an hour.

The compensation law is a key element in Hungarian political life. During the elections of last spring, the Smallholders, now members of the government coalition, pledged to restore land property rights according to their 1947 standings. In the meantime the government coalition came to the compromise whereby the 1949 property rights, standings would be used as the starting point. There are several other proposals concerning nationalized factories, flats, small plants and so on. The date referring to "the original condition" is also subject to debate.

As reported, the compensation bill was repeatedly put on the agenda of parliament's Monday plenary session. However, only two Smallholder MPs rose to propose various amendments to the document collated previously by the government parties. The debate will be continued later on.

A one-minute standing tribute was paid to Denes Csengey, MP of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), who died of a heart attack at the age of 38. He was a founding member and leading politician of the party.

In the evening MPs started the general debate over the bill on the amendment to the civil code aimed at eliminating the differing approaches to the various forms of property in accordance with the constitution, thus putting an end to the priorty treatment of state and social property.

Parliament's Monday session ended a few minutes before 7.30 pm.

Foreign Ministry Holds News Briefing

LD1504154791 Budapest MTI in English 1251 GMT 15 Apr 91

["Foreign Affairs Spokesman's Briefing"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, April 15 (MTI)—Discharged Hungarian Ambassador to Washington Peter Zwack met the

leaders of the Hungarian ministry in Budapest on April 15. The two sides agreed that the services of Peter Zwack are no longer needed. The well-known businessman will return to Washington as a private individual.

There will be replacements of ambassadors in 13 embassies this summer, with 11 places to be occupied by so-called "career diplomats".

The Canadian Deputy State Secretary for External Affairs and International Trade David Wright is to conduct talks in Budapest from April 15 to 17. He is to meet State Secretary of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry Ferenc Somogyi, discuss the development of bilateral ties and hold talks with leaders of the financial and foreign affairs cabinet and those of the National Bank of Hungary (NBH) on the expansion of economic co-operation between the two countries and the realization of aid programmes extended to Hungary by Canada.

Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar will visit Budapest as a commissioner of the Government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic on April 21 to hold talks with Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall with the aim of settling differences of opinion concerning the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydro-electric dam system.

At his Monday press briefing, spokesman of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry Janos Herman outlined the Hungarian Government's position concerning the persecution of Iraq's Kurdish population. Hungarian diplomacy takes a stand for guaranteeing individual and collective rights for the national minorities of Iraq. It expects the Baghdad government to allow the aid intended for refugees to end up in the right hands. The spokesman also mentioned that Hungary is to help the fleeing Kurds by granting aid in the form of food, tents and blankets.

At present, the chance of creating peace in the Middle East is better than at any time before, the foreign affairs cabinet of Hungary stated. The Hungarian ambassador to Cairo, therefore, has been commissioned to develop and expand ties between Hungary and the Arab League.

The issue of mass migration as it affects Hungary has also been discussed by the foreign affairs cabinet. According to the ministry, estimates of 10 million immigrants arriving in the country may be a long shot, but the authorities should nevertheless be prepared to receive a considerable number of refugees. Hungary will not be able to bear the pressures of mass migration on its own, therefore making pan-European co-operation imperative, the ministry said.

According to the view of the Hungarian Government, the only way to prevent East European mass migration is to create proper living conditions for all nationalities in their own countries.

Central Bank Denies Debt Rescheduling Request

LD1204102791 Budapest MTI in English 1001 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] Budapest, April 12, 1991 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The president of the National Bank of Hungary, Gyorgy Suranyi, said in response to an MTI-ECONEWS inquiry that recent news agency reports which alleged that "Hungary is considering whether to ask the west for a debt write-off," similar to Poland's, are lacking all foundations.

Mr Suranyi stressed that neither the central bank nor the government were planning any revision of their stated policy.

"It is the cheapest and the best for Hungary, to continue to pay its debts properly," Mr Suranyi said, adding that Hungary's situation is fundamentally different from Poland's.

The developments of the economy do not justify that Hungary ask for any debt payment facilitation as the country can service its debts without any special strain.

In the agreement with the IMF, the Hungarian Government reckoned that the deficit of the current account will reach 960 million USD [U.S. dollars] in the first quarter of the year, go up to 1.3 billion USD by the first half, and settle at 1.2 billion USD by the end of the year.

In contrast, the current account produced a slight surplus in the first quarter, which means that the country is actually about 1 billion usd better off now than projected in the agreement with the IMF, the NBH president said.

The country's foreign exchange reserves have grown by 500-700 million USD this year to 1.6-1.8 billion usd at the moment. These reserves are sufficient to finance three months' imports, the central bank president said.

Hungary's judgement on the international money market has improved. One evidence is that a recent DEM [Deutsche mark] bond issue has quickly sold out in Germany, and the original 200 million DEM issue had to be topped with another 150 million DEM. Even the terms have improved, because the first issue was at 99.75 points, the second, 150 million DEM issue, went at 100 per cent, Mr Suranyi said.

In spite of the fact that the National Bank of Hungary devalued the forint by a total of 30 per cent over the last one and a half years, the black market rate of the national currency has gone up by 40 per cent, the central bank president said.

At present the official and the black market forint rates are almost identical in Vienna, for example.

All these facts speak for the stability of the Hungarian economy and show that the financial processes are actually more favourable than planned, which make it unnecessary for the country to ask for debt rescheduling or any kind of debt relief.

Kaczynski on Minister of State Appointment

AU1504080891 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 Apr 91 p 3

[Interview with Lech Kaczynski, minister of state responsible for national security, by Kazimierz Groblewski at the Belweder Palace in Warsaw; date not given: "The Appointment Came as a Surprise"]

[Text] [Groblewski] How do you find working in what used to be General W. Jaruzelski's office?

[Kaczynski] There is no doubt that it came as something of a shock to me. Still, that is not my biggest problem. We have taken over the government of the country and that, of course, means that we have to take over offices as well.

[Groblewski] After your failure to be elected "Solidarity" chairman, there was speculation in the press on the role that the president would give you in government. Nevertheless, your appointment to the post of minister of state for national security came as a great surprise.

[Kaczynski] It also came as a great surprise to me. I had prepared myself for a political vacation that would last a few months, until parliamentary elections.

I only learned that the president intended to appoint me to the post from my brother at only an hour's notice. I had less than an hour to think things over and that was in an excited atmosphere with people urging me to set off for the Belweder as quickly as possible. To be honest, I did expect to receive some kind of offer, but of an entirely different kind. I thought, for example, that it might minister without portfolio, or secretary of state for trade union affairs.

I had heard rumors that Jacek Merkel was going to resign, but when it actually happened, I was surprised. I think that there were two reasons for Jacek's resignation. The first was one that was made public. Jacek really was going through a very exhausting, stressful period that continued after the presidential election campaign. The second reason was that differences of opinion had emerged between him and the president. That is normal among politicians. It is well known that Jacek and Lech Walesa had already disagreed on one occasion in the past. I have also had differences with Lech Walesa. However, I am not familiar with all the details of Jacek Merkel's resignation. The press has a right to indulge in speculation. Nevertheless, to accuse Jacek of, for example, working for foreign intelligence services is absurd and hurts him very much.

As soon as I had been appointed, Jacek and I came to this room and talked for an hour. He told me his opinions on the subject of the post.

[Groblewski] Why did you give up your place on the National Security Council to Maciej Zalewski? Was that your decision or the president's?

[Kaczynski] As the press has been saying, it was not I, but the president who entrusted him with the post. Jacek Merkel held two posts on the council, and Maciej Zalewski has assumed one, that of secretary. Lech Walesa had already decided that before appointing me minister of state, but I was also given the right to reverse his decision. I have not done so. I think that there should be a separation of the two posts, if only because in accordance with the instructions that I have been given by the president, I will deal with rather different matters from Jacek Merkel. That is also because our interests are different. I will be dealing with the general safety of the population and not just state security. Of course, this does not mean that I intend to be a substitute for the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the Ministry of National Defense. I think that the crime rate is not something that is entirely objective. We have to move away from an excessively liberal policy on crime.

[Groblewski] Do the Soviet forces stationed in Poland represent a threat to state security? When should they leave Poland?

[Kaczynski] Every stationing of troops in a country other their own represents a potential threat. In that sense, the Soviet forces also represent a threat, although not an immediate one and one that I certainly do not want to exaggerate. Their withdrawal should take place as quickly as possible.

[Groblewski] What do you think about claims that your appointment has strengthened the position of the Center Accord in the presidential chancery?

[Kaczynski] There is no direct link. I am not a member of the Center Accord and as long as I occupy this post I will not join it. I was not a Center Accord candidate for the "Solidarity" leadership election. However, I will not conceal the fact that I identify more with the Center Accord than with, for example, the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action. It is also not true that there were 140 members of the Center Accord during the election. There were only 14.

I appreciate that there is a problem, because I also have a brother who is active in politics. If we were to listen to what is being said, then at least one of us would have to withdraw from public life altogether. However, does having a twin brother mean that one should have fewer political rights? I do not think so.

Council for Ownership Changes Formed

AU1504141691 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 11 Apr 91 p 3

['col' report: "Nine Advisers for the Prime Minister"]

[Text] On Friday, the Sejm Commission for Ownership Changes [Rada Przekstalcen Wlasnosciowych] approved Prime Minister Bielecki's choice of people for the Council for Ownership Changes.

The council is to be a body of advisers to the prime minister. Its tasks will include giving the go-ahead to basic plans to privatize state enterprises and granting permission for the free issue of state treasury shares in companies formed as a result of ownership changes. The council will consist of nine people, as follows: Marek Dabrowski, dean of the Warsaw University Economics Institute, until 21 September 1990 deputy finance minister; Barbara Blaszczyk, dean of the Polish Academy of Sciences Economic Institute and former adviser to the finance minister; Tomasz Kwiecinski, lawyer at the Adam Mickiewicz University; Julian Pankow, chairman of the "Zmiany" ["Changes"] Research Institute; Jozef Pyrgies, lecturer at the Main School of Rural Economy; Piotr Soyka, director of the J. Pilsudski Refitting Shipyard in Gdansk; Jan Szomburg, director of the Gdansk Institute of Market Economy Research; Tomasz Wardynski, Polish legal adviser to the International Finance Corporation; and Andrzej Wieczorek, chairman of the Association of Workers Self-Management Activists.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal Begins, Optimism on Talks

AU1504153991 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Apr 91 p 1

[Maria Wagrowska commentary: "Symbols and Facts"]

[Text] The ceremonies that accompanied the departure of the first Soviet Army unit from Poland—the unit left Borne-Sulejowo Army camp on 9 April—were mainly symbolic in character. Nevertheless, it was a very important symbol, perhaps the most important symbol in the whole sphere of present-day Polish-Soviet relations. Both countries are currently seeking political solutions that will—in the light of the changed European realities—best serve them in resolving the issues of good neighborliness and mutual cooperation. The principles underpinning the new relationship will be included in the new bilateral treaty between the two countries.

One does not have to dwell on the significance of the decision to begin pulling out Soviet troops from Poland. For the Poles, this is just one more step along the road to achieving full sovereign rights, and this was the reason the Polish Government approached the Soviet Government in 1990 with a request to pull out all Soviet troops from Polish territory. For the USSR, this is made necessary—as emphasized by many Soviet politicians referring to the many statements made on this subject by their government, including those made in 1990—by new doctrinal concepts that do not require the maintenance of Soviet military presence in various countries.

Even though both sides are motivated by different considerations, the five rounds of intergovernmental negotiations at the political level—and mainly as a result of the talks that Prime Minister Bielecki had with President Gorbachev and Premier Pavlov—have finally secured the agreement to begin the withdrawal of Soviet troops, which are still seen by the Poles as an army of occupation. The date 9 April has been accepted by both sides as the official starting date for the whole operation. Let us hope that from this date on there will be better cooperation between the Polish and Soviet authorities in this matter.

The departure of the first Soviet Army unit from Poland after an uninterrupted stay of almost 46 years, should make upcoming pull out negotiations easier and make easier the solution of issues that arise as a result of the transit of Soviet troops being pulled out of Germany.

In a note sent to the Walbrzych voivode on 10 April, General Dubynin has bound himself to pull out the Soviet garrison in Swidnica by the end of August 1991. If the Soviet side continues to pull out its troops at a significant rate this fact will undoubtedly become an important element enabling both sides to agree the final date for the completion of the whole operation. At present, both sides seem ready to make concessions. It does not seem likely that the end of 1993—a date that is still officially quoted by the Soviet side—will be the USSR's final word on this subject, and conversely, the end of 1991, a date originally insisted on by Poland, is now probably accepted by the Poles as an unrealistic deadline. Without trying to preempt the future, one can safely assume that the final date for completion of the Soviet troop pull out will probably be agreed at the upcoming Walesa-Gorbachev meeting and will be set for 1992. Every month counts.

Polish Activities in Council of Europe

LD1504192791 Warsaw PAP in English 1520 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 15—Poland's participation in the system of the Council of Europe will assist Poland's subsequent access to the European Communities. It can be seen as "smoothing the way" on the road to Europe—these were the opening remarks from a 3-day seminar to discuss Polish participation in the Council of Europe, to which Poland has special guest status.

According to Hans-Peter Furrer, director of political affairs at the council, the organisation should strengthen Polish involvement at all levels of activity: in the work of the committee of foreign ministers at the council, in the parliamentary assembly, in the activities of the administrative committees and the groups of experts.

It is essential, if full participation in the Council of Europe system is to take place, that Poland sign the councils various conventions. To date Poland has signed only three: cultural, anti-drug, and cross-border television. Poland is to be invited to sign and adhere to the remaining eight conventions.

'Foreign Special Services' Infiltrate Nation

AU1504171491 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Apr 91 p 2

[Text] PAP—"There are increasing signs of a destabilization of sociopolitical life and a continued threat of strikes and protest actions," said Jan Konieczny, deputy chief of the Office for the Protection of the State, at a news conference at Popow, outside Warsaw. "Informal groups of young skinheads and anarchists are becoming more active, and pressure is being applied to cause the resignation of people high up in the state administration."

At the news conference, attended by the ministers of justice and internal affairs, Jan Konieczni also said that Poland was being actively infiltrated by foreign special services. Asked which ones, he said that the neighboring countries are the ones most active in this sphere,.

Inspector Boguslaw Strzelecki, deputy commander in chief of police, said that there were 883,000 reported crimes in Poland last year, "the greatest number in history. Perpetrators behave with increasing brutality. Thirty percent of crimes are committed by criminal gangs," he said.

"But a certain improvement occurred in the first quarter of this year," Strzelecki continued. "The number of crimes fell by 12 percent against the same period last year, and the number of crimes solved rose to 51 percent."

Cab Drivers Protest in Katowice, Krakow

LD1504122391 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1100 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Since 0600 thousands of cab drivers in Katowice have been blocking the center of the city demanding, first and foremost, the withdrawal of licenses for taxi services from those people who treat this job as a source of additional earnings.

Cab drivers in Krakow are also staging a protest. They blocked main transit routes through this city. Police Officers of the Krakow road traffic department prepared detours and are trying to minimize the effects of the blockade.

Poles Favor Dropping Soviet TV Satellite Program

LD1504191991 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1515 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Sixty-six percent of Warsaw residents support broadcasting a different satellite program in place of Soviet television. Fifteen percent want to keep the Soviet program. These are the results of a poll conducted by the Center for Public Opinion Research and Polish Radio and Television.

Iliescu Attends London EBRD Inaugural Meeting

Addresses EBRD Meeting

AU1504194591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1827 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] London 15/4/1991—Addressing the London festive meeting inaugurating the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development], Romania's President Ion Iliescu said the meeting was, by its significance and implications, more than a mere ceremony. While thanking President Francois Mitterrand for his valuable initiative and Prime Minister John Major for his generous hospitality, the Romanian president showed that the opening of the EBRD will enable European countries and other nations in the world to join a vast project open to all those willing to contribute to economic and political stability, to the progress of the young east European democracies. He said he truly shared the opinion of EBRD President Jacques Attali according to whom the establishment of this bank was "a first rank political decision enabling us to build together a new destiny for Europe."

By its fundamental principles and its stated aims, said President Iliescu, the EBRD tries to respond to the major interests of east- European nations in their transition to real democracy and to a market economy, to the observance of human rights and to their final integration into a united Europe.

These are of course, the aims my country is firmly determined to promote, showed President Iliescu. "We understand that the very nature of the bank's activities suggests the EBRD is expected to play primarily a financial role in providing the so badly needed support for concrete projects, economically viable both at national and international levels, in the vital fields of infrastructure, environment protection, energy, technology transfers, promoting, at the same time, private initiative and enterprising spirit.

"We cannot fail to notice, however the substantive political significance of the EBRD: By assisting the success of the economic reforms in eastern Europe, the bank will implicitly enhance the chances for political stability all over Europe.

"The building of a new and united Europe meets the interest, of course, of every country. At present, when ideological barriers have been eliminated for good, when we all cherish the same values, the reaching of this common goal calls for creative and realistic solutions to the very serious problems we all face. The bank is therefore a necessary link in the CSCE process, one of the factors that will drive us to achieving the fundamental aim stated by the Charter of Paris, the aim of a Europe of democracy, peace and unity. Faithful to its statute, we hope the bank will soon embark on equitably dispensing its resources to all its designated beneficiaries, without preferential or discriminatory limitations.

"We are aware that the needs are enormous, while available resources are fatally limited. If we want to be realistic, we must accept that the bank may not solve all our problems, but it can help us a lot. Romania is ready to contribute its share of effort to make the EBRD become efficient as soon as possible. We are pursuing a common goal and are animated by he same will.

"If there ever was a magic solution of guaranteed success then this was the one".

Aid for 'Major' Projects Expected

AU1604194191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1845 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Report on statement by President Iliescu at a news conference in London at the inaugural session of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development on 15 April]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/4/1991—Referring to Romania's hopes on joining the EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development] founding members, President Ion Iliescu stated to the press that he had welcomed from the beginning President Mitterrand's initiative on the creation of the bank and Romania immediately and unreservedly adhered to its principles. He said Romania saw in that initiative the new spirit governing the relations among the European states resulting from the provisions of the Paris Charter.

For the time being, realistically speaking, Romania has no possibilities in the first year to finance certain projects, as the necessary fund is not created. Only starting next year will such programs of economic assistance operate. Until then, the institution's activity will be centered especially on technical assistance. And in this respect, he said, we welcome the possibility to get advice with the bank's assistance in all our projects of elaborating the levers of the privatization process, of consolidating the private sector. There are a few major domains in which we need support, first of all in the farm-food domain, in which we can mark fast progress and in which the private sector develops fastest, for which the bank wishes to give special assistance. Also, in tourism, in building the infrastructures roads, ways, where the ban is also ready to give assistance. There are also other sectors connected with the industry, there is the Cousteau program for the Danube as a multinational project of the Danubian countries, which the bank has offered to sustain.

Meets Israel's Shamir

AU1504204391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2027 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/4/1991—Romania's President Ion Iliescu met Israel's President Yitzhaq Shamir, on Monday, 15 April, in London.

The Israeli prime minister was interested in the general direction of the political evolution of Romania, the main aims of the processes going on in our country.

President Iliescu put forth this evolution in broad lines, underlining first of all the economic difficulties springing from home and abroad. He also referred to the diversity of political options, that is the irreversible institution of a multiparty political system, the market economy.

Premier Shamir was also interested in Romania's attitude and relations with the Arab countries, especially with Palestine Liberation Organisation. It should be noticed Romania adopted a certain attitude of involvement in the Middle East problems, which can be easily proved by its participation in solving the conflict in the Gulf.

Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir thanked the Romanian authorities for their attitude vis-a-vis the problems of the Jewish emigration. The Israeli party expects Romania's relation with Israel to be launched, waits for the appointment of a Romanian ambassador, the initiation of direct contacts, and announces its full support in this respect.

Premier Yitzhaq Shamir invited President Iliescu to pay an official visit to Israel.

"We are interested in developing good relations, friendly relations between Romania and Israel, and that is what we have tried to do on this occasion" Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir said at the close of his talks with Romania's president.

Asked if Romania intends to make any changes in its policy as far as Israel is concerned, President Iliescu said that directly derived from the newly born climate. "I think the traditional good relations between our two countries will be boosted by the newly created political foundation." We have to be sorry for the negative aspects of Romanian diplomacy, but not for its positive aspects," specified President Iliescu, who mentioned that Romania was the only country who did not break off its relations with Israel after the 1967 war.

Remarks After Meeting CSFR's Havel

AU1504204491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1836 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/4/1991—At the close of their interview held at the Heathrow Airport in London, President Ion Iliescu and Vaclav Havel made brief statements.

Romania's president said: "My interview with President Havel is not the first. We have met before, in New York and Paris. This time, President Havel inquired about my talks in Moscow and the content of the treaty signed with the USSR, as we are negotiating the working out of a new treaty also with Czechoslovakia. Now I have discussed with the president the setting up of a joint expert commission of the two foreign ministries to complete the negotiations.

"We have noted that there are fine relations between our countries, that there were not and there are not disputed issues between us, we have a wide ground for understanding. We should have a new treaty, because the one in force was drafted in conditions that do not fit in the changes wrought in our countries and in Europe. We have agreed to start this together, and then establish when and where to sign. Our next meeting will therefore be occasioned by the signing of the treaty either in Prague or in Bucharest.

In turn, President Vaclav Havel of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic said: "I have met again Romania's President Ion Iliescu. This time, we have informed each other on the situation in our countries. I asked him about the talks in the Soviet Union and asked his view on the future evolution of the situation there. He told me about the treaty Romania has recently signed with the USSR.

"Also, we have discussed the future treaty which our two foreign ministries will start working out soon."

Iliescu Meets USSR Science Academy President

AU1204133091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1234 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/4/1991—"Today's interview is a continuation of the political visit President Ion Iliescu paid to the Soviet Union, on which occasion Presidents Gorbachev and Iliescu signed extremely important political documents," said Yuriy Ivanovich Marchuk, president of the Soviet Union's Academy of Science, who was received, Friday, 12 April, by President Iliescu, at Cotroceni Palace.

Possibilities of cooperation were approached between the Soviet Union's Academy of Science and the Romanian Academy. The treaty of scientific cooperation to be signed in the afternoon was mentioned during the talks.

Referring to the importance of the plan, the guest said: "The document will strengthen our relations as far as scientific cooperation in concerned, at the level of science academies. Consensus was reached on all the matters discussed. Interchanges between our academies have been doubled. President Iliescu is of the opinion that we should center our scientific research on major directions of the development of the society."

Attending were Aleksandr Mikhailovich Prokhorov, Nobel Prize winner for physics, Emil Draganescu, president of the Romanian Academy, F.P. Bogdanov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest.

Collaboration Plan Signed

AU1204200591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1954 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 12/4/1991—The plan of scientific collaboration between the Romanian Academy and the USSR Academy of Sciences over 1991-1995 was signed on Friday [12 April]. After signing the documents Academician Mihai Draganescu, president of the Romanian Academy, said: I'd like to emphasize that the programme of collaboration is based on new ideas concerning the development of scientific relations between our countries. It is a very concrete plan which stipulates direct links between the scientific personalities in the two countries in well defined domains. The document also includes a general protocol establishing the future cooperation. We are very interested in the scientific collaboration with the USSR Academy of Sciences, because it is a strong academy with world famous scientific results and personalities.

In his turn, Academician Yuriy Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of sciences, emphasized that he shared Academician Mihai Draganescu's opinions concerning the talks held, that the meeting had a great success. He underscored the principally new items in the talks held.

Nastase Meets French Official, Attends Event

AU1104151191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1417 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Text] Paris ROMPRES 11/4/1991—Romania's minister of foreign affairs, Adrian Nastase, on a visit to Paris, met Michel Vanzelle, president of the Commission of Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly. The parties discussed about various French-Romanian collaboration projects both at a bilateral and a European level. They underlined the complementarity of governmental and parliamentarian actions, the readiness of both sides to act for the development of relations between France and Romania, as well as to collaborate in building the new continental policy.

The Romanian minister also took part in an interview at the international diplomatic academy, which counts Nicolae Titulescu among its founders. Attending were French scientists, international law experts, foreign ambassadors to Paris.

Interlocutors stressed the importance of Francois Mitterrand's coming visit to Bucharest that is likely to open new prospects for relations between the two countries.

Turkish Foreign Minister on Bilateral Relations

AU1104160491 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 6 Apr 91 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Turkish Foreign Affairs Minister Ahmet Kurtcebe Alptemocin by Aurel Perva; place and date not given: "An Important Stage for Future Developments"]

[Text] [Perva] Mr. Minister, could you make an assessment of the current situation of relations between Romania and Turkey?

[Alptemocin] From a political point of view, there is no problem in relations between Turkey and Romania. From an economic point of view, our cooperation is developing, but our aim is to develop our economic relations even more and to seek new opportunities for cooperation. We are looking for new opportunities to cooperate, and I believe that Romania and Turkey, as two Balkan and Black Sea countries with a particular potential, share the same historic values; there is a resemblance in our cultures, our communities know each other, our two peoples harbor feelings of esteem and love, and all these values will ensure the rapid development of relations between the two countries soon.

[Perva] Mr. Minister, what step forward was taken during your visit to Bucharest?

[Alptemocin] Certainly, we badly want to continue contacts at the summit level; last year Romania's foreign minister visited Turkey, then Romania's prime minister visited Turkey, and now I am in Romania. We are working to prepare for the Turkish President's visit to Romania. We have been able to review mutual relations, and we have discussed a number of details in connection with the Black Sea cooperation project; certainly, the visit I am paying now will be an important stage for future developments.

[Perva] Turkey has made a valuable proposal regarding the creation of an economic cooperation zone in the Black Sea basin. What are the advantages of this project for the Black Sea countries?

[Alptemocin] What we want to achieve is the free circulation of people, of capital, and of goods in the Black Sea countries; we want to ensure the mutual cooperation of countries that have this possibility. If we are able to ensure this, then people will become better acquainted with one another, trust between countries will increase, and consequently, of course, our economies will develop. If we consider all these countries—Turkey, Romania, Bulgaria, and the Soviet Union—then this project refers to a market for a population of approximately 400 million people. If we are able to spur the market of the Black Sea economic cooperation zone, certainly, other countries will become greatly interested in it and will want to cooperate with us. Their participation will lend particular viability to our economies. Then certain issues between states—not exactly problems—will be more easily solved. Our objective is to develop cooperation and trust in this area and to strengthen friendship.

[Perva] What is Turkey's position on solving the Cypriot problem, which is viewed as an important subject for establishing peace in the Balkan area?

[Alptemocin] Turkey's position is very open; we think, first and foremost, that the relevant authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and the relevant

authorities of Southern Cyprus should have their say on the Cypriot problem. It is necessary for the two communities to meet and to decide their future on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 649. Resolution 649 accepts the existence of the two communities on the island; it is necessary for the two communities living in the two separate areas and enjoying equal political rights to decide their own future. This can be solved now by reuniting the rights won so far under the umbrella of a federation—that is, two communities with equal rights, with equal political rights, may reunite under the umbrella of a federation. Furthermore, this federation will be led by people who are elected by the two communities. In accordance with that federation's constitution, the two communities will enjoy an equal political status. The leadership of each community will serve its own community, but the representation of the island and certain problems will be solved by the federal state.

The UN general secretary shares the idea of a bizonal and bi-community federal state. The UN Security Council resolution stipulates such a solution. Call it whatever you like, what is important is that the problem of the island be solved with good will and courage. Turkish Cypriots and Turkey advocate solving the problem within the above mentioned framework and are ready to militate in this direction. If Greek Cypriots and Greece show the same understanding, then the representatives of the two communities will meet to solve their problems. The issues to which I am referring have been included in the last report by the UN general secretary. When meeting with the Turks, I wish and expect the Greek Cypriots and Greece to solve this problem on the basis of UN Resolution 649 and the UN general secretary's report, and I hope they will prove their good intention and courage. I am inviting them to such a positive approach of the problem.

[Perva] Like numerous other countries, Turkey was directly involved in the events in the Gulf. What is Turkey's attitude toward the establishment of peace in that area?

[Alptemocin] As a country that is located in that area, Turkey wants the ensurance of rapid peace and stability. The Iraqi people have suffered enough as it is. It is Turkey's wish that the Iraqi people decide on their leadership as soon as possible, so that domestic difficulties cease and peace be established. By the same token, Turkey is convinced that the time has come to discuss the Israeli-Arab problem and the Palestinian-Israeli problem, and to identify ways to solve them. After the establishment of peace in Iraq, after a central government has taken power, and the Israeli-Arab problem and the Israeli-Palestinian problem are solved, we believe there will be a durable peace in that area. Turkey desires this and is ready to fulfill any task devolving on it in this respect. Turkey's president, Turgut Ozal, has expressed Turkey's satisfaction at the organization in Istanbul of an international conference that will discuss these aspects, and has invited everybody to participate in this conference.

FDAR Calls For Government's Resignation

AU1504151391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1313 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/4/1991—In the appeal to the nation the Romanian Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum [FDAR] calls all democratic forces to unity, demanding the resignation of the government and its replacement until future elections by a transition government which should ensure firstly the change of administrative structures, of order-keeping forces and information means included. At the same time, it should implement an emergency programme to stop the economic decline.

The Romanian Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum also demands: The dissolution of the Parliament and the organisation of general elections as soon as possible; the Romanian president to assume the responsibility in front of the nation for the violation of the principles of the state of law and to bear the consequences in keeping with the norms in all really democratic countries.

The Romanian Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum reserves its right "to act by known legal means, culminating in the withdrawal of member-parties' parliamentarians from the legislative fora" if the power does not take into consideration these legitimate demands.

The Romanian Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum justifies its demands noting that the country is now in a deep economic, social, moral and political crisis. This is why the Romanian Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum considers as necessary the transition to a genuine economic reform which should start from a real privatization not from a rise in prices abusively called "liberalization"; the dissolution of the collectivist and bureaucratic structures in villages; special measures to protect the citizens avoiding the state of general poverty.

The Romanian Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum also notes that the parliamentary majority imposes nondemocratic laws among which the government's right to use the armed forces as a repression means against the country's population. In the Romanian Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum's opinion the drafting constitution intends to grant the president excessive powers which would open the way toward personal dictatorship.

The appeal represents the final document of the third national convention of the Romanian Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum whose proceedings were held in Bucharest over April 12-14, 1991.

FDAR on Role of Intellectuals, Opposition

AU1504102991 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum Spokesman Adrian Marino by Virgil Lazar; place and date not given: "The Role of Intellectuals in the Current Political Moment Is of Particular Importance"]

[Excerpts] [Lazar] I want to conduct this dialogue not only with Adrian Marino, the writer, but more especially with the spokesman of the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum [FDAR]. What do you think of the opposition as an alternative to the current leadership? Has the time come for it to assume such a responsibility?

[Marino] In my opinion, the opposition is still not adequate enough for such a task. It is too soon after the revolution. Its means are extremely scarce. What is especially lacking is a tradition of cooperation and coordinating political actions. This is why the FDAR was born in Cluj on 6 August 1990; it incorporates almost all traditional political parties and formations—the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNT-cd], the National Liberal Party [PNL], the Christian Democratic Party, the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], the Magyar-Romanian Friendship Association, the Monarchist Liberal Party, and others. The meeting held in Bucharest in March this year by the Steering Bureau marked an important step along this path of organizing the opposition. Through Mr. Radu Campeanu, the PNL also adhered to the central forum. Moreover, an agreement was arrived at in connection with the possibility of common lists during future local elections and formulating a common political strategy. This progress was also emphasized by PNT-cd President Mr. Corneliu Coposu in a recent interview for DREPTATEA (20 March this year). This is a very sensitive point for those in power. This is probably why the passage on common lists and unity of action in the forum communique was omitted by the 11 March television broadcast. No one can tell us that there is no television "censorship!" The Civic Alliance is also in the process of organization and structuring. These new formations are playing an extremely important role, first and foremost an educational and civic role. The opposition is radically breaking with the leveling, totalitarian, and herd spirit, with dogmatic discipline and unique slogans, and it breaks with thinking and reacting in a uniform and cowardly way as a consequence of moral and social drilling with whip in hand. The opposition introduces, protects, develops, and consolidates the idea of differentiation, pluralism, and free initiative in all fields of activity. I stress this fact because the real strength of the opposition will be demonstrated only whenever larger masses of citizens act in this spirit and no longer allow themselves to be cheated as they were on 20 May 1990.

The second step toward consolidating the opposition as a real alternative to the current leadership—I am expressing my own opinion—would be to set up a convention with the great trade union centrals with an anticommunist and antitotalitarian stance. This would open the road to the hearts and minds of the many who decide the fate of election and who have not been given the social protection promised so often by those in power.

[Lazar] We would like to hear what your views are in connection with the participation of intellectuals in our country's political activity.

[Marino] One of the newest and most positive phenomena in the wake of 22 December 1989 is the involvement of a great number of intellectuals in political activity. The emergence of the Group for Social Dialogue is just one aspect of it. Numerous intellectuals—writers, critics, and so forth—have become political commentators in various other political formations or in independent or opposition press organs. I wonder, however, whether—under all circumstances—the new political structures are totally and thoroughly absorbing this intellectual presence into the system. Sometimes I have the impression—but maybe I am wrong—that in certain circles, the intellectual—the writer, the critic, and so forth—seems like an associate, not to say alien, figure. Often the intellectuals risk being viewed as belonging to both the "elite" and the class of "technocrats," and so forth.

Despite all this, the role of the intellectual in the current political situation is and will remain particularly important. He is able to think and formulate ideas clearly, continuously, and systematically; he is able to spread them and lend them prestige through his personality and his work, however widely it is known. I am not saying that the intellectual is always very manageable or docile, but he gets involved in politics—if he has integrity and good faith—with all his competence, experience, and seriousness, with his synthesizing ability and long-term views—both in time and space—which very often a simple political activist lacks. This ideological ability has, actually, been viewed as a significant danger by both the former regime and the current leadership.

Hence the sustained slandering campaign and attempts to isolate nonconformist intellectuals. I will not recall the well-known odious acts of physical agression; however, there are career-seeking intellectuals who go on opportunist pilgrimages to Cotroceni Palace and who, without any scruples, are hunting such positions as ministerial or directorial "academicians" and other lesser positions. As a matter of fact, these embarrassing spectacles undermine the prestige of the intelligentsia in public opinion.

Actually, I view the problem in a broader framework and I would place the writers and intellectuals from Cluj into a more general typology; I would even term it "national." It can be noted that the great majority cultivate the idea—in my view doomed to failure and without any future—of the writer and publicist as the eternal state functionary paid by the state, subject to the state, a functionary who is living only on the state budget by holding all sorts of possible positions: Director, chief editor, editor, academician and so forth; and since we are talking about this, I want to join the numerous signatures of protest of the University Solidarity, which contest the title of academician claimed by Mr. Barladeanu, a genuine and sad phenomenon of imposture. Unfortunately, he is not the only one. [passage omitted]

[Lazar] What is your opinion about certain texts that, from a distance, smack of diversion?

[Marino] Who has the time to sit around shooting flies with a gun? Yet, some items in the local press cannot be overlooked altogether because they are very nationalist-chauvinistic or are directly attacking the principles of basic democracy by using the lowest type of slander as a weapon. In the statement by the Romanians' National Unity Party [PUNR] in ADEVARUL DE CLUJ we can read: "PUNR suggests that all minorities in Romania continue to have one representative in Parliament."

Thus the principle regarding the proportional parliamentary representation accepted throughout the democratic world is canceled by a single stroke of the pen. This PUNR demand is completely unacceptable no matter how good a Romanian one is and it is even at variance with the draft constitution that is currently under discussion.

One could say a lot about the role of intellectuals in society. What is encouraging is the fact that more and more intellectuals have become aware of the need to get involved in current developments. A tremendous step, I think, is the fact that numerous intellectuals realize the need to get involved in developments for instance through the University Solidarity, and I am saying this as a nonuniversity member.

Opposition Politician on National Minority Issues

AU1204172491 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 8 Apr 91 p 10

[Interview with Pavel Campeanu, director of the Independent Opinion Poll Research Center in Bucharest and one of the founders of the Group for Social Dialogue, by Zoltan Csaky in Budapest; date not given: "Specific Romanian Experience"—first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] Pavel Campeanu gave a lecture at a recent conference held in Budapest. The title of his lecture was the following: "Elements of the National Issue in Today's Romania." [passage omitted]

[Csaky] Did you also deal with Bessarabia in your lecture?

[Campeanu] Yes, I had to speak about this too, because this is part of the national issue in Romania. People used to say that the 2 million Hungarians in Romania are the largest national minority in Europe, but the 4 million Romanians in Bessarabia also represent a minority in the Soviet Union, and they, too, are quite oppressed. The specific thing about the Bessarabia issue is that Romania is the only Eastern European country that, I am afraid, is facing a territorial controversy with the Soviet Union. While the Baltic states are demanding autonomy, it is possible that Moldova will demand unification with Romania, and Romania will find it very difficult to reject this because the annexation of Bessarabia took place on the basis of a pact—the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact—which is very difficult to defend either morally or politically.

[Csaky] The Group for Social Dialogue carried out an opinion poll about the tragic events that took place in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures]. What does this survey show, and what is your opinion about the official report about those events?

[Campeanu] I cannot give one answer to two questions. The Group for Social Dialogue carried out several opinion polls on various sample groups during the election campaign in Romania. We carried out monthly surveys between February and May 1990—a total of four surveys—with the original aim of following the election campaign and trying to come up with a forecast. We could not, therefore, prepare surveys on the events in Tirgu Mures because these events happened in the middle of the campaign and we were not prepared for them. One can say that these events appear in the opinion polls only secondarily, because they were not a separate object of our opinion poll. This has the disadvantage that there is no big survey on those events; however, the advantage of all this is that the subjects interviewed were taken by surprise and, thus, their answers were more direct. This survey was carried out in April, 10 months ago. All I remember is our surprise to hear that most of the Romanian population under the survey did not blame the Hungarians, or at least not the Transylvanian Hungarians—the Hungarians in Tirgu Mures. I also remember that, following the events in Tirgu Mures, the National Salvation Front [FSN], whose position on those events was ambiguous at best, lost 10 percent of its followers. The number of people who wanted to vote for the FSN dropped by 10 percent after the events in Tirgu Mures. This also showed that people distanced themselves from those who tried to carry out provocations or to make use of the events in Tirgu Mures to legitimize the Romanian chauvinism. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] Mr. Campeanu! What impressions did you get from this colloquium?

[Campeanu] Just as it is about all such meetings, it is hard to say that this one had any other goal but mutual information and broadening our view when starting to analyze the relevant issues. Like every colloquium, this meeting has achieved this goal. [passage omitted]

However, I was not satisfied with one thing, namely that, according to its title, this conference had to deal with the national minority issue in Hungary and Romania and with the issues of nationalism and democracy, but both the Romanian and Hungarian sides dealt only with Romania. I learned very little about Hungary. [passage omitted]

[Csaky] Could Hungary and Romania and the Hungarian and Romanian nations advance on the same road toward Europe? This was one of the fundamental issues of the conference.

[Campeanu] I do not know whether this was a fundamental issue, and I do not want to be impolite, but I do not like this view that we "have to advance" toward Europe. Where are we coming from? In my opinion, in our own ways, we have always been in Europe. Europe cannot get rid of us, whether it likes it or not. This is our geopolitical and cultural position. Our countries were under various foreign occupation. The Hungarians exist as a total cultural and linguistic island in Europe; in their own way, the Romanians also represent an island here, albeit not a complete one because there are other Latin countries in Europe, but not in our neighborhood. As national and cultural entities, therefore, the two countries have overcome less advantageous historical circumstances for many centuries, and I do not see why, after 40 very difficult and extremely expensive years, we should regard ourselves as people left outside Europe where we have been living for one thousand, or two thousand years. In other words, Europe is our continent; we are part of this continent. If, by Europe, you mean the European Community, that is something else.

PNL Denies Plans To Withdraw From Parliament

AU1504194291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1815 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/4/1991—Referring to what was asserted at the meeting of the Civic Alliance held in Bucharest at the end of last week, when the leaders of the political parties present at the meeting were asked to quit Romania's Parliament, Radu Campeanu, chairman of the National Liberal Party [PNL] and the Senate's vice president, disavowed the speculations on the possible withdrawal of PNL from Parliament.

"I should like to say that yesterday I made a statement on this issue, but it was totally different from what was told at a foreign radio station broadcasting in Romanian. The withdrawal from Parliament—the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate—of the liberal groups was discussed as a hypothesis by the party's executive bureau. We decided such a thing could be possible, but the decision is to be made by the party's leadership when the general political conditions ask for it, and only as a final means, expressing our political point of view, and not otherwise.

PSD Steering Committee Meets, Elects Leadership

AU1504151191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1320 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 15/4/1991—The first meeting of the Steering Committee elected at the March 8-9, 1991 congress of the Romanian Social Democratic Party [PSD] was held in Bucharest.

The agenda included administrative, organisational and political questions among which the adoption of the political line on "the possibility for opposition political forces to join the government" as Prime Minister Petre Roman has recently announced.

The participants also debated aspects concerning the attitude of the Romanian Social Democratic Party towards the Romanian Democratic Antitotalitarian Forum as well as towards the Civic Alliance.

The Executive Committee and the Standing Bureau of the Romanian Social Democratic Party were elected.

Blandiana Interviewed on Changing Society

AU1604092291 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 10 Apr 91 pp 1,2

["Part three" of interview with Ana Blandiana, poet and prominent figure of the Civic Alliance, by Dora Mezdrea; place and date not given: "We Are With the Current of History"]

[Text] [Mezdrea] Am I wrong—actually, I wish I were wrong—in thinking that one of the methods of the dictatorship to keep a tight hand over revolts—I am talking about fear—is again taking hold of many of us? Several people complain that they are (once again) being pursued, that their telephone conversations are (once again) being intercepted, that their correspondence is (once again) being opened, and many of the most elevated but also most peaceful opponents of those in power are being beaten up. I would like to ask you, what was the extent of your fear before? To what extent are you (still) afraid today?

[Blandiana] Strangely enough, I could say that I was less afraid before. Formerly I always had the feeling that, actually, everybody supported me. I have lived with the great illusion that, with the exception of a few—tens, hundreds, or even thousands (what does it matter?)—who were actually in power, all the Romanian people were against the system. Everything that happened to me demonstrated, secretly and anonymously—beginning with the flowers I used to find on my doorstep (the giver, of course, not having the courage to reveal his or her identity) and up to the letters that were not delivered by the post (actually, toward the end I did not receive any more correspondence)—that these were people who had the courage to encourage me. We surely tend to exaggerate the value of such gestures. We exaggerate their symbolic value, but what I want to say is that at that time fear was chased away by the feeling of tacit solidarity. I did not then have the feeling that those sitting in the automobile in front of the house would get out of it and hit me on the head, because I thought that all they wanted to do was to scare me, and that it was my duty not to play their game, and I did not play their game. What happened after was difficult for me, because it no longer fit into the framework of my illusions. I had to accept the fact that a much larger part of the population than I thought is much more afraid of the future than of the past; they prefer that nothing should change, because they were able to create their levels of survival within the framework of that nothingness. They knew how things

could be handled, from where they could procure things, steal things, with whom they should ingratiate themselves, and whom to flatter. They were well qualified in this science of survival.

[Mezdrea] There were some terms and phrases perfectly characterizing what you were saying: "To manage" and "to procure."

[Blandiana] Especially "to manage." They succeeded in "managing" and only now it is obvious how serious this success is and what the consequences are. I want to tell you that, in my opinion, there is nothing to be afraid of. Actually, it is not important what I think, because, in the final analysis—I, being a writer, may have the proud illusion to believe that, regardless of what happens to me—my books have the chance to continue to exist. I am not saying that they will be preserved, only that, theoretically speaking, there is this change. What is important, I think, is that, objectively speaking, there is no reason to be afraid, for the simple reason that we are with the current of history and when one advances, no matter how slowly, with the current of history, one can be destroyed but not defeated.

I just remembered something: Once I had a talk with Toader Stetca, the mayor of Sapinta, who, seeing that I was very depressed, said to me: "Mrs. Blandiana, do you realize that they—he was referring to those in power—are much more unhappy than we are? Do you realize that they cannot go forward or back?" I remember that I started laughing when I realized that that man had expressed in one sentence what an intellectual would probably have taken many pages of political analysis to do. Indeed, not only we, the ones in the parliamentary or extraparliamentary opposition, are in a difficult and dramatic position, but many of those in power are—in a different way—in an even more dramatic position. Obviously they cannot go back; nothing will ever return to the point when things were changed by the explosion of December. They do not want to go ahead, however, because by going ahead they would be eliminated by the objective laws of freedom. All they can do is to stop history, to preserve the stage in which they hold power as long as possible. This stage cannot be extended indefinitely, however, because history may be bad or good, but it never stands still.

[Mezdrea] Ever since the late Ceausescu I have been obsessed by a thought: The thought that we are Orthodox people, and watching today how things are developing in the countries of the former Stalinist bloc, mostly Catholic people, I think that there is confirmation of the fact that our down-to-earth Orthodoxism also plays a great role in the twisted road full of obstacles on which we have embarked. I do not insist on your confirming this thought, but if it is a subject to think about, what is your opinion about it?

[Blandiana] I think I would rather turn your theory upside down. I do not think that the last generation of the high Orthodox clergy was the way it was because it was Orthodox, but because the former generation had died in camps. My own father was one of the priests who spent much of their lives in prisons after the war, and I know how many like him have disappeared in such prisons. Then their place was taken by others, who did not want to go to prison and who were the way they were. It seems to me hardly literary to think that Orthodoxy in itself is to blame; however, I am absolutely convinced that if the Church had been, as an organization, at the helm of the opponents throughout the years, things would have happened differently in the Romanian awareness. I am also convinced that the very definition of democracy incorporates the fact that any man may practice the religion he prefers; the way the United Church was treated after the revolution is a very sad aspect of our political activity and religious life.

[Mezdrea] Because you were able to anticipate, in some of your answers, what I wanted to ask you in connection with the Civic Alliance, I will let you complete these answers, if you would like to.

[Blandiana] What seems to me extraordinary about the Civic Alliance is the fact that it has organized branches in all counties, which not only have many followers, but are functioning although their ties with the center are very limited. I have been in two or three places and I was really happy to realize that valuable people are those who want to save what can still be saved. In this sense I have great confidence in the future of this formation, whose aim it is to restructure the soul and mentality of the people, to create a European civic awareness, to make us emerge from Balkanism, and to do away with such phrases as "I will manage," "We will survive somehow," "I will procure," "Maybe they will deliver something," "Maybe they will give us something," because we have to realize that it depends on each of us ourselves to take the appropriate action.

[Mezdrea] During the University Square demonstration you uttered a beautiful and true sentence: "Solidarity is the superlative of freedom." The moments of solidarity have been rare and, unfortunately, this phenomenon of dissipation, polarization, and of refusing solidarity is an acute aspect among writers. What is the explanation of this phenomenon?

[Blandiana] You have to realize that this polarization is properly steered. This affected the self-esteem, ambitions, and even the former guilty ones or former secret compromises that might be uncovered, and thus this polarization is getting even more intense. Everything fits into the scenario of those in power who set the workers against the intellectuals, the majority against the minorities, and Moldova against Timisoara and so forth. Now each strata is taken and "split" separately, as we have seen. I am not talking only about writers or actors—this phenomenon is obvious everywhere.

[Mezdrea] For me it is a stupefying phenomenon. Does it happen in any other place in the world, in a country that claims to be heading for democracy, that the head of state receives a delegation chosen from among the best, from various kinds of creative people in order to make "valuable recommendations" to them and—under the protection of his fatherly smile—let them slander their colleagues?

[Blandiana] Maybe it does happen, but surely the discussion is not conducted to gossip about those who are not part of the delegation, to condemn those who have different beliefs, or to organize their overthrow.

[Mezdrea] A girlfriend of mine, who is not a writer, but is the most lucid observer I have ever known of the phenomena happening around us has begged me to ask you what you think about this infamy?

[Blandiana] What could I tell you? It is, indeed, horrible to realize that there are well-organized forces whose only aim it is to do away with those who think differently, but even more horrible is the fact that they succeed; only the thing is, that those who do these things do not realize—although often they are great men of culture—that what they are doing will turn against them in the long run.

Economic Chamber Proposes New Program

AU1504182691 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Apr 91 p 4

[M. Dapcevic report: "Consensus by 1 May—A Condition"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Executive Committee of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia yesterday presented an alternative economic policy program, as an addition to the government program, whose aim is to provide the survival of the economy and social peace in the country in the short term. The program contains seven points and depends on the agreement of all the republican states, which are asked to simultaneously scrap laws and regulations regarding blockages in the unified Yugoslav market.

The deadline for reaching a consensus on the new, or supplementary, economic program and for the removal of blockages in the Yugoslav economic space is 1 May.

As its president, Dagmar Suster, stressed, the Chamber decided on this step to prevent the collapse of the economy and facilitate a peaceful denouement of the Yugoslav crisis, which it considers to be its legal right and duty. The proposal has been submitted to the Federal Executive Council, the SFRY Presidency, and the SFRY Assembly. The Chamber is also counting on the support of the trade unions and the widest public.

The Chamber's leadership decided on this step because of the tragic results that the Yugoslav economy has survived in the last year and because of the general fear that even bleaker times are ahead. The Chamber is forecasting that unless urgent measures are taken, the economy and society will collapse with all the social and political consequences that this entails, and it cites numerous figures to support this. In the opinion of the Chamber's leadership, the causes of such a situation lie above all in the general political instability in the country, which has had unforeseeable consequences for economic life, the persistent and systematic attacks on and destruction of the country's current economic policy by the republican states, and the federal state's sluggish and inadequate reaction to the situation in the economy and the country. The Chamber thinks that under these circumstances, domestic production has been annihilated so all enterprises have become "bad" ones.

The weakness in economic policy that has, in the Chamber's opinion, caused the most trouble is the delay in devaluing the dinar in June last year. This is followed by an uncoordinated monetary policy that lost control of the money supply and the failure to prevent the dramatic and very expensive blow to the country's foreign currency reserves at the end of last year, when the transition from convertibility to the verge of bankruptcy was allowed to take place within several months. Finally, there is also the criticism that the enormous breach in public and personal spending was not prevented. The Chamber says that the business community and part of the expert public were constantly pointing out all these mistakes, but without success. In their assessment, it was also no help that after the first credit installment, the IMF abandoned its financial follow-up of the Yugoslav reform program. The chamber admits that not even the economy itself coped the best in the reform conditions, and the Chambers could not be praised for quickly adapting to the new conditions either.

Because of all this, the question has been raised of what to do to survive, so the conclusion has been reached that transitional solutions should be presented, which will be implemented if they are agreed upon in all the republics.

In other words, in the Chamber's opinion, the situation in the economy is such that a new program of economic measures is necessary, because it is impossible to implement last year's (government) program.

The Chamber is not presenting a complete economic policy program "because this is a matter for the government and the legislature," but it is suggesting that they only consider the Chamber's proposals.

All the participants in yesterday's talks in the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia insisted that the demands of the Chamber and the economy should not be politicized and that enterprise managers should more strongly oppose pressure from local [maticni] politicians and those who give orders.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

Not a Word About a New Government

Contrary to expectations, there was no mention at yesterday's session of the Executive Committee of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia of setting up a temporary economic cabinet [privredna vlada], which was frequently mentioned in the media before and during the negotiations between the republican presidents on Yugoslavia's destiny. Nor was there any discussion on some demands to bring down the government of Ante Markovic and his team, that is to say, on speculation that Dagmar Suster should take over the position of the present prime minister.

Instead of the explanation that the media expected, the impression remained that the Chamber yesterday refrained from any statement that could stir up the stories that have appeared. And not only that, the tone of the whole meeting was such to lead to the conclusion that no one here was even thinking about a new government and new prime minister.

Seven Points

It is possible to save the Yugoslav economy (and state) with the following:

1. By improving the economy's liquidity, which involves a dozen conditions, ranging from reducing public spending and limiting wages, ensuring the accessibility

of the financial system by meeting obligations to the economy, and financial discipline, to changing the dinar exchange rate and conducting an appropriate credit monetary policy;

2. A credit monetary policy that will be uniform and efficient, protect the domestic currency, and create conditions for setting up a money market and everything including stimulating saving;

3. Reducing interest by the so-called contaminated bank loans being taken over by the sociopolitical communities;

4. In the sphere of foreign economic relations, absolute priority must be given to exports, establishing a realistic dinar exchange rate, and the protection of domestic production....

5. By realistically reducing public spending, reducing republican budgets to realistic frameworks, and urgently adopting a federal budget that will ensure that the basic functions of the federal state are carried out in the transitional period....

6. By limiting personal incomes so the starting level is realistically delineated. Outside the economy, incomes should be limited and linked to trends in the economy and all wage movements should be linked to production that is evaluated on the market and to living expenses;

7. Comprehensive and effective welfare programs are essential at the level of the sociopolitical communities.

Proposed FEC Media Activity Viewed

AU1204143291 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Apr 91 p 7

["Text" of a document of the Secretariat for Information of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] entitled "Program for the Media Activity of FEC President Ante Markovic and FEC Members Regarding the Current Political Situation": "Markovic's Headquarters on its Feet"]

[Text] The Secretariat for Information of the Federal Executive Council [FEC]

Belgrade, 1 April 1991

Starting Points for Media Activity

Since the talks between Franjo Tudjman and Slobodan Milosevic in Karadjordjevo and particularly since the meeting and news conferences of the presidents of the republics in Split, a new situation has arisen for the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and President Ante Markovic that has been commented upon in different ways in the media. In a statement on the content of their talks, Tudjman and Milosevic announced a possible change in the work and composition of the FEC. All this also involves the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, which has appeared in some commentaries as a "economic cabinet" [privredna vlada], which would consist of members of its Presidium headed by D. Suster. There is another variation in circulation according to which an "economic council" would be set up that would include economic experts whose task would be to analyze, as an advisory body, not only the measures of the FEC but also the economic and political state of the country.

The press statement issued by the presidents of the republics in Split showed, however, that this is above all a question of an attempt by Tudjman and Milosevic to bring down the present FEC and Ante Markovic. That is to say, according to Milosevic's statements, the present FEC is the main culprit behind the serious economic situation because it is supposedly conducting a catastrophic economic policy, and the result of this policy is a huge balance of payments deficit, a so far unprecedented fall in production, the collapse of the banking and financial systems, the surrender of the domestic market to poor-quality imported goods, and so on.

Tudjman spoke in a similar way; so it is quite clear that both presidents, particularly after the March events in Belgrade, want to blame the FEC and Ante Markovic for the serious economic situation in their communities, to maintain the monopolies and trust that the electorate placed in them since results are now being demanded. Other leaders in some other republics are also putting the responsibility on the FEC.

The truth is on the other side because this FEC is persistently advocating that all monopolies be destroyed. It has created conditions for social property to be transformed into private or mixed property, it has created opportunities for wide cooperation with the world and the introduction of foreign capital, and all this is with the aim of initiating quick and certain economic development. Particularly out of fear for personal monopoly positions, very little of all this has been accepted in the republics, of which the most voluble are demanding that the present FEC be replaced.

Possible Solutions

Because of all this, the starting point for media activity must be aimed at directly opposing the ideas championed by Milosevic. One should not of course forget Tudjman's ideas, according to which the FEC is responsible for the unrealistic exchange rate of the dinar, which as he claims, is hitting Croatia and tourism in particular. It should definitely be stressed here that if we want our economy to be an export economy, the rest of the world cannot forgive the irrationalities of which the economy is not ridding itself despite several warnings. There is also the unacceptable idea, which should be discredited using well-argued facts, that the FEC is striving for centralization and that it wants to seize as many powers as possible, when it is well known that in comparison with other governments in the world, our government has very few powers.

It is especially important to deny and thwart, using well-argued facts, all attempts by Milosevic and Tudjman to blame existing and future events in their communities on the FEC and Ante Markovic.

Specific Action

It is very important to assess whether President Markovic should address the public now, considering that he will soon be speaking in the Yugoslav Assembly. We think that it would be better for him not to address the public prior to the Assembly speech except possibly to give brief statements on specific issues.

If this variation is acceptable, the public should be addressed by the ministers of those departments whose legal proposals and measures have been criticized the most. In this respect, one could decide on appearances by both vice presidents, separately (Zivko Pregl has already done this for Yutel). They would explain, among other things, who is responsible for the fact that there has been no new developmental progress in the country, why we are lacking financial aid from abroad, and so on. It should also be indicated how the reform is affected by a halt in the transformation of social property and who is responsible for this and how this is connected to the developmental cycle and the fall in production.

It would be useful for Franc Horvat, the federal secretary for foreign economic relations, to explain that the FEC has not "sold" the Yugoslav market to foreign countries and to back this up with facts. This should be linked to the idea that imports have not had an adverse effect on domestic production. This is particularly related to agriculture, so Stevan Mirjanic, federal secretary for agriculture, should be involved with this issue too. Horvat would also particularly explain the harm that has been done to tourism because of the heightened interethnic relations and political situation in the country.

Federal Finance Secretary Branko Zekan should again stress what the reform has suffered because of the incursion by some republics into the payments system and to point our how much we are losing because of the lack of foreign financial support and the collapse of the banking and political systems. Vlado Kambovski, federal secretary for justice and administration, should expound upon the consequences of delaying the adoption of constitutional amendments violating federal laws, and hindering the normal flow of goods. It would be good to include Federal Trade Secretary Nazmi Mustafa in this context. Mr. Kambovski has the special task of pointing out that Tudjman is wrong when he claims that the federal government is striving toward further centralization and an expansion of its powers.

Other subjects are interesting at this time—FEC efforts to reduce public spending in the country and to reduce the number of employees in the federal administration and the number of organs. Replies to these questions must be given by representatives of the federal secretariats for finance and the justice and administration.

Likewise, Bozidar Marendic, federal secretary for development, should also explain why production has not been revived and what the FEC is preparing to initiate a new developmental cycle. Budimir Loncar would explain why there has been a halt in the process of Yugoslavia joining European integration processes and he would also point out everything that our foreign service is doing to encourage our cooperation partners.

The FEC Information Secretariat will issue objective reports on everything that the FEC and its departments are doing, taking care to thus block attacks from the republics. Among other things, there should be open support for efforts to transfer the main debate on the situation in the country to the Assemblies and to conduct an open dialogue among the initiators of the attacks on the FEC and President Ante Markovic. Apart from the public debate between Markovic and Milosevic, perhaps it would be good to organize a debate between Markovic and Tudjman too. This would have a positive effect even if the other side were to reject the offered dialogue.

Instead of a Conclusion

The FEC Information Secretariat will monitor reporting in the press and propose to the FEC additional measures and action regarding activity in the media through interviews, statements, visits to editorial boards, and so on. In this respect, there will be attempts to hold such talks as much as possible in the republics, whenever there are opportunities for this.

Work will be stepped up with local radio-stations and with the regional press, but also with others who are willing to cooperate (Belgrade Television, Studio B, and so on). To this end, the information secretariat will increase the number of special bulletins that these media make ample use of.

It will be suggested that commentaries be written in the leading Yugoslav media, as is already the case with BORBA and TANJUG.

Strike Begins in Serbia; 700,000 Walk Out

LD1604080591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0646 GMT 16 Apr 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 Apr (TANJUG)—Textile workers, metalworkers, and workers in the leather industry in Serbia failed to start up their machines this morning. It is estimated that some 700,000 workers began their long-delayed strike, expecting that by resorting to the final means of workers' struggle they will achieve (?basic) living conditions, and a little more justice in the distribution of the meager social cake.

The strike is currently taking place in the factories in accordance with the instructions of the strike committee, and we have learned that it is proceeding to plan. [passage omitted]

The employees have already been acquainted with the strike committee's declaration, which stresses that promises are no longer a guarantee for the payment of minimum wages, which at least for the moment would mitigate the untenable decline in living standards. We did not want the strike, committees of textile and metalworkers stress, but it is obvious that this has become the only way of drawing attention to the seriousness of the crisis, and the aim is to restore to the individual the right to live decently from his work.

Milosevic Denies Promising Arms to Knin Serbs

AU1304185191 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Apr 91 p 7

[Text] Regarding the announcement made by Milan Martic, head of the Krajina Secretariat for Internal Affairs, a couple of days ago at a meeting in Knin that he had received a promise from [Serbian President] Slobodan Milosevic that arms would be sent to volunteers in these parts of Croatia, we tried to get either a denial or a confirmation of this claim from the office of the president of the Republic of Serbia.

We were informed by his office that President Milosevic had conducted no talks whatsoever on this and therefore had not made any promises. We also found out from his office that Milosevic still sticks to the stands regarding resolving the Yugoslav crisis in a peaceful way, which he presented in Split at the meeting of the presidents of the republics and the president of the Presidency.

Slavonian Democratic Party Reportedly Splits

AU1304194291 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 91 p 7

[B. Pavlovic report: "The Strength and Weakness of Reasonable People"]

[Excerpts] Osijek—The recently most mentioned leader of the Slavonia and Baranja Serbian Democratic Party, Ilija Sasic (who headed a delegation in recent talks with [Croatian President] Franjo Tudjman), has said regarding the latest events in the Slavonia and Baranja region that in the absence of the arrested Goran Hadzic and Borivoje Savic, these events really came to be led by extremists. These are the kind of people who are not up to the circumstances but who doubtlessly easily gain the support of the people in a heated atmosphere. [passage omitted]

Vojislav Vukcevic, president of the Baranja Serbian Democratic Party, a member of the party's leadership, and a proven advocate of dialogue, adds that the center of power, Belgrade, has been exerting strong pressure on him because he influences the Serbs in Baranja to act calmly and responsibly and not to cause incidents. He claims that the Serbian Democratic Party has split into two parts, which do not acknowledge each other, and that the influence of the Krajina part can also be felt in Slavonia and Baranja. Baranja and Podravska Slatina have remained quiet in the last few days. Vukcevic lives in Baranja and Sasic in Slatina. And while they are obviously unable to deal with the extremist Serbs in the Vukovar area, it should be admitted that despite this inability they have the power to exert a reasonable influence on the Serbs in their areas.

Radical Party Threatens To Destroy Tito's Tomb

LD1304201191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1818 GMT 13 Apr 91

[Text] Smederevo, 13 Apr (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia will break up into three parts: Greater Serbia, a small Slovenia, and an even smaller Croatia, [Serbian Radical Party Chairman] Dr. Vojislav Seselj said at a promotion of the program of the Serbian Radical Party [Srpska Radikalna Stranka] in Smederevo this evening.

Seselj once again repeated the well-known stances that the Serbs have no life in any Yugoslavia, but only in a kingdom of Serbia that will encompass, he said, all Serbian lands from Gevgelija to Zagreb.

Advocating assistance to the Serbs in Croatia, Seselj provided information that 52 special forces were killed recently in Plitvice, but their names are not being made public because this is a matter of Albanians and emigrants who entered the country illegally.

Laying the blame for all the suffering of Serbs on Communism and Tito (Seselj was a prominent dissident), Seselj threatened that his followers would destroy the House of Flowers (Tito's mausoleum in Belgrade) on 4 May (anniversary of Tito's death).

Serbian Reserve Police Mobilization Explained

LD1204173491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1231 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—The mobilization of reserve personnel of the Ministry for Internal Affairs of the Republic of Serbia on the territory of Sandzak [Serbia's Muslim-populated region bordering with Bosnia-Hercegovina, Kosovo, and Montenegro] was carried out on the basis of the Law on Internal Affairs, following the president's decision and the order to this effect of the Serbian minister for internal affairs. This answer was given to Federal Assembly Chamber delegate Husein Hodzic, who asked the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs about the reasons behind the mobilization of reserve militia personnel.

The answer also says that about 30 percent of the reserve personnel was mobilized due to the complex political and security situation in the republic, the heavy presence of security forces on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija, and their extra efforts following the events in neighboring Albania, the marking of the tenth anniversary of separatist demonstrations in the province, as well as the growing tension in relations in ethnically mixed areas. [passage omitted]

Serbian Liberal Party Formed

LD1204163391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1234 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Summary] Belgrade, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—The founders of a new party in Serbia, the Serbian Liberal Party [Srpska Liberalna Stranka—SLS], who include Nikola Milosevic, Kosta Cavoski, Aleksandar Sasa Petrovic, Slobodan Mavrenovic, and Milan Secerovic, presented their party to the press at the International Press Center today. The party's declaration concentrates on criticism of the government, the governing party, and the Serbian legislative opposition in particular.

No Results From Croatian-Serbian Talks in Knin

LD1504212791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1808 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Knin, April 15 (TANJUG)—Today's meeting between representatives of the opposition forum of Zagreb and the Terazije parliament of Belgrade with representatives of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDP) in Knin, a Croatian town predominatly populated by Serbs, failed to produce any results.

The meeting was organized with a view to resolving tensions between Serbs living in the respective part of Croatia and the Croatian authorities.

After the closed-door meeting, journalists were told that the Serbian Democratic Party representatives had turned down the proposals for the lifting of the blockade of [words indistinct] transport, the suspension of the movement of armed groups, and the returning of SDP deputies to the Croatian Assembly.

SDP President Dr. Jovan Raskovic and SDP deputies Radoslav Tanjga and Jovan Opacic turned down the presented proposals because, as they said, they were not empowered by the Serbian people to accept them.

The participants in today's meeting did, however, agree that an end must be put to the policy of force. They also agreed that a meeting of the presidents of all Serbian municipalities in Croatia, the Serbian deputies in the Croatian parliament, representatives of the Croatian leadership and opposition forums be held as soon as possible clearly to (?define) what is unacceptable in Croatia's policy towards the Serbian population and, thus, create conditions for a dialogue between the Serbian Democratic Party and the Croatian Assembly.

Benkovac, Obrovac Police Face Dismissal

LD1504222191 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Zadar Police headquarters sent a letter to police stations in Benkovac and Obrovac calling on policemen of the two police stations to declare whether they are going to be loyal and work for the Republic of Croatia Internal Affairs Ministry because they are legally bound to do so, or whether they are going to work for the so-called illegal secretariat of internal affairs of Knin, as they have been doing for the past few months.

The policemen from Benovac and Obrovac have to make a final decision in a few days. If they decide to be loyal to the Internal Affairs ministry, they are not going to be prosecuted for their illegal behavior hitherto. But if they keep showing loyalty to self-styled [Knin secretariat for internal affairs] secretary Martic they will lose their jobs and such police service will be proclaimed illegal. This move has been taken by the police headquarters in Zadar because disobedience of policemen from Obvrovac and Benkovac can no longer be tolerated.

Former Police Officers Claim Ostoic Was Killed

AU1604082291 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Apr 91 p 9

[Stevan Zec report: "Murderers Operate in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia"]

[Excerpts] Vukovar, 7 Apr—Do you remember who Zvonko Ostoic was?

He was the main "protagonist" in the sensational film of the Information Department of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the Zastava Film shown on television on 25 January 1991. Ostoic spoke in detail about how Martin Spegelj, Josip Boljkovac, Vladimir Seks, and Branimir Glavas worked out a plan for the slaughter of Serbs in Croatia with the secretly and illegally imported arms from Hungary. Only half an hour after the showing of the film, the above mentioned Zvonko Ostoic was taken to the Vukovar hospital where doctors confirmed death caused by a gunshot to the heart. The official investigation conducted by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia expertly "concluded" that this was suicide. The late Zvonko Ostoic was buried without any regard to legal and customary norms and only 16 hours after his death. [passage omitted]

Former inspectors of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia, who directly worked on the "Ostoic case", claim:

"Judging by the way the shot was fired at Ostoic's chest, he was murdered. There is a 90 percent chance that he was killed by Ivica Budimir, and a 10 percent chance that this was done by Zvonko Mazar [members of the Croatian Democratic Community who visited Ostoic immediately after the showing of the film on television]. The published results of the investigation are not true, evidence has been destroyed, everything was done in the "way it should be done." We are professionals and know our job, and when we claim something like this, we are also aware of the consequences." [passage omitted]

Statement Released on Visoko Garrison Arms

LD1104184791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1447 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Apr—Regarding the transportation of arms from Kragujevac to Visoko by Crvena Zastava of Kragujevac, the public information service of the First Military District Command has been authorized to make the following statement:

The arms dispatched from the Crvena Zastava institute were destined for the Visoko garrison, military zip code 9802. they are the property of the above garrison, where they are now been stored.

All other information regarding this, or the manipulations of the facts are unfounded and completely false, the statement reads.

Croatian Magazine Launched in Bosnia-Hercegovina

AU1404182891 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 30 Mar 91 p 2

[Dj. K. report: "OBZOR Biweekly Promoted"]

[Excerpt] OBZOR [HORIZON], a new biweekly for cultural and political affairs was festively promoted in the conference hall of Sarajevo's Holiday Inn yesterday. This is the first Croatian publication to be launched [in Bosnia-Hercegovina] since World War II. Its founder, publisher, and director is Pero Buntic from Medjugorje. The first issue was printed in 30,000 copies. [passage omitted]

Slovene Statement on Drnovsek's U.S. Visit

LD1504172991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1503 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, April 15 (TANJUG)—Dr. Janez Drnovsek, Yugoslav State Presidency member from the Republic of Slovenia, is not visiting the United States under a decision of the State Presidency or as its member, as the Yugoslav State Presidency Information Service announced today.

Dr. Drnovsek arrived on a several-day visit to the United States on Sunday, about which the public was informed by the Republic of Slovenia Information Secretariat.

The statement released by the Slovene Information Secretariat said that Dr. Drnovsek would meet and hold talks with leading officials of "numerous international financial institutions and some ranking representatives of American political life."

Bucar: Slovene Independence by Late June

AU1104210791 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 2000 GMT 11 Apr 91

[Interview with Slovene Legislative President Franc Bucar by Otto Hoermann in Ljubljana on 11 April—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Hoermann] Serbian President Milosevic, who has so far been a staunch federalist, caused some surprise when he proposed a community of sovereign states. Slovenes and Croats will not accept anything that might restrict sovereignty. The Serbs perceive a different model. At the end of the discussion it turns out that all six participants in the discussion interpret the term community of sovereign states differently. The press was presented five pages of separate statements by the republics. The Slovenes think the recent argument confirms their determination to seek independence quickly.

[Bucar] We must finish all preparations by the end of June, which is one of the conditions of the plebiscite that we held in late December. We have not yet prepared everything, but we have prepared a lot, and we think that preparations will continue so we will be able to declare and implement our independence by the end of June.

[Hoermann] Other countries, in particular the EC, are interested in a single Yugoslavia. It has been said that only a single Yugoslavia will be able to join the EC. Otherwise such a process would take much longer. Do you regard such statements as bluff, or what do you make of them?

[Bucar] I do not know whether this is bluff or a serious statement. Anyway, we cannot take the West's position into account. In line with the result of our plebiscite, all this preparatory work has to be concluded by the end of June. There can be no other conditions.

[Hoermann] It means that other countries cannot stop you.

[Bucar] Of course not.

Pregl Cited on Federal Negotiations, Slovenia

LD1504192591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1649 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Ljubljana, April 15 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Federal Vice-Premier Dr. Zivko Pregl today urged the internationalization of the Yugoslav question and the inroduction of "European rules of the game" in the internal relations.

Pregl spoke in Ljubljana at a meeting of the Slovenian parties the Liberal Democratic Party and the Social-Democratic Union. Pregl, a Slovene by nationality, is a member of the Social-Democratic Union.

Pregl underscored that the republican leaders have left the federal government out of the negotiations, but he

said he was confident that they would not be able to bypass it and that they would have to approach it when they have to tackle concrete problems.

"Part of Yugoslavia criticizes the federal government for arbitrarily reducing the federal Constitution, while the other part of the country accuses it of trying to preserve the old relations. The way out lies in elections at a federal level, which the federal government urges," Pregl said.

Viewed from the aspect of resolving the Yugoslav crisis, Pregl assessed as "unproductive" the activities of Slovenia, which decided to become independent on June 26 this year as a result of a referendum by its citizens.

Pregl said that the Slovene government has not planned what will happen in the republic until it gains independence and after that. He believes that the set deadline for Slovenia's independence is too short, and that there is "no simple and elegant solution for leaving Yugoslavia."

"Yugoslavia, with all its institutions, is a child of all its republics, nations and nationalities, and it cannot be abandoned overnight," Pregl said. "This would not help Slovenes," he said, "and the world does not look on that with favor either."

Bosnian Parties Clash over Sovereignty Issue

LD1204214191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 12 Apr 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Apr (TANJUG)—In the course of this morning's debate in the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina about the regionalization of Bosanska Krajina, several verbal duels broke out between, on the one hand, deputies of the Serbian Democratic party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka—SDS] and, on the other hand, the Party of Democratic Action [Stranka Demokratske Akcije—SDA] and the Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica—HDZ].

The SDS deputies advocate the economic need for the formation of a regional community of Bosanska Krajina, whereas the SDA and HDZ deputies refute this by arguing that this is really a political issue, aimed at joining the municipalities predominantly populated by the Serbian population.

To this effect the HDZ and SDA Deputies demand the SDS deputies adopt a declaration on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina at this session of the assembly, and only then will they believe, as they say, that this was a matter of economic reasons.

The session continues in a polemic atmosphere.

Bosnian Serbs Boycott Izetbegovic as President

AU1604082891 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Apr 91 p 16

[P. Simic report: "They Do Not Recognize Alija Izetbegovic"]

[Text] Bijeljina, 9 Apr—After last night's airing of the Sarajevo television program "Dialogues," in which Alija Izetbegovic appeared as a guest, the Bijeljina Regional Committee of the Serbian Radical Party for northeast Bosnia today issued the following statement:

"As of last night, we radicals from northeast Bosnia do not recognize Alija Izetbegovic as president, and he can no longer represent us Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina at home or abroad. Izetbegovic's appearance in the program "Dialogues" was more than a confirmation of his extreme policy toward the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the policy that he has skillfully tried to conceal so far. Alija Izetbegovic last night attacked Slobodan Milosevic, Radovan Karadzic, and the entire Serbian nation, openly taking sides with the Croatian people and the anti-Serbian policy carried out by Franjo Tudjman. On top of everything, Izetbegovic, in front of several million viewers, threatened and frightened Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina with terrorism. This is only characteristic of the leaders of some Arab countries that Izetbegovic recently visited. We Serbian radicals from northeast Bosnia publicly state that we are not frightened by such threats and contend that neither threats nor terrorism will make us Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina vote on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is nothing but an attempt to create an Islamic state."

The statement concludes: "We appeal to all parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina that group Serbs and the entire Serbian nation not to recognize Alija Izetbegovic as president, and demand that the existing Serbian National Council take over the leadership of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Banja Luka Protest Meeting Draws 30,000

LD1504151791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1307 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Excerpt] Banja Luka, 15 Apr (TANJUG)—Instead of the expected 10,000, some 30,000 dissatisfied workers and citizens attended today's protest meeting of warning in Banja Luka's Edvard Kardelj Square.

They demanded that deductions from the economy's income be reduced within 45 days from the present 76 percent to 33 percent, or the municipal trade union council will "call out all workers on a general strike of unlimited duration." They also requested "deep cuts in administration," a guaranteed personal income for all employees, a reduction in the growth of communal subsidies to finance personal incomes, and the elimination of monopolies of the electricity supply industry, the post, telegraph and telecommunications services, the banks, and others. [passage omitted]

Mesic: Serbia Wants to 'Obliterate' Kosovo

LD1504173791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1403 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Pristina, April 15 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency Vice-President Stipe Mesic has accused the Republic of Serbia of wanting "to obliterate the Province of Kosovo," and underscored that no such thing will be permitted.

In a statement published in the Albanian-language daily SHKENDIA of Pristina, capital of Kosovo, today, Mesic said that he was "personally, daily, urging work to be stepped up in the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia on the assessment of the constitutionality of the Serbian law on the cessation of the work of the presidency of Kosovo and the decision on the relieving of duty of Yugoslav Presidency member from Kosovo Riza Sapundzia."

The Serbian authorities have explained that the two decisions were necessary because of the separatist activities of the Presidency of Kosovo and Riza Sapundzia, at the expense of Serbia.

Yugoslav State Presidency Vice-President Mesic said that, under the current federal constitution, Kosovo—where ethnic Albanians constitute the majority population—was a part of Serbia, but with the status of a constituent element of the federation. "Yugoslavia cannot do anything without the presence of ethnic Albanians or against their interests," Mesic set out.

Mesic said that he would visit Kosovo immediately after taking over the post of Federal State Presidency President on May 15. Mesic, Croatia's representative in the eight-member collective head of state, will take over the post from Dr Borisav Jovic, representative of Serbia. "If Serbia wishes to unite with all Serbs in Yugoslavia, ethnic Albanians and others, and not only Serbs, will demand such a unification," Mesic said in the interview.

Albanians Call For Assemblies in Tetovo, Gostivar

AU1304142491 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Apr 91

[Boris Djordjioski report]

[Text] Albanians are demanding all local authority in Tetovo and Gostivar because, as they say, their representatives won at the multiparty elections. This demand was stressed today at a news conference in Skopje, which was organized by the coalition of the Albanian Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] and the Democratic People's Party [NDP].

[Djordjioski] To judge by today's news conference by the heads of the Albanian PDP and the NDP, one could conclude that they will not abandon their intention to set up Albanian communal assemblies in Tetovo and Gostivar. This is because the leaders of these parties, Nezad Kalili and (?Ilijas Halili) say that Albanians legally won power in these communes at the first multiparty elections and therefore authority belongs to them.

The PDP and NDP will consider any attempt by the Macedonian government to deny the validity of the election victory as illegitimate and undemocratic. They are also threatening to withdraw their representatives in Tetovo and Gostivar if it is not ensured that the Assemblies there will function as normal after Monday.

The situation in these two towns is [word indistinct] strange, not to mention comical: The old assemblies continue to function with Macedonian presidents, as well as the new multiparty assemblies with Albanian presidents. Whichever of these presidents is the early bird will sit in the president's chair (?from today).

The Macedonian government obviously does not want to surrender local authority in these two towns to the deputies of the Albanian parties and, apart from that (?there are) all the other parties in Macedonia, which makes the situation even more complicated, so there seems to be no solution in sight at the moment.

Stipe Mesic Views Future of Kosovo

LD1504153691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1020 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] Pristina, 15 Apr (TANJUG)—In an interview to the Pristina-based SKENDIJA magazine, SFRY Presidency Vice President Stipe Mesic claims that "Yugoslavia can do nothing without the presence of the Albanians, nor can it do anything against their interests."

Replying to the remark that sessions of the state leadership as well as "meetings of the six" were made without Kosovo's representatives, Mesic said that Yugoslavia has not forgotten Kosovo and the Albanians, "because we are very much aware of the kind of consequences that would ensue if this happened."

In addition to his promise that he would visit Kosovo as soon as he was elected president of the SFRY Presidency, Stipe Mesic also said that "Yugoslavia must not keep silent about the situation surrounding and within one of its federal units."

"All those who think that 'Serbia can easily wipe out Kosovo' are completely wrong." It cannot be tolerated that some can embark on integration and some on disintegration. If Serbia wants to unite with all the other Serbs in Yugoslavia, then "such union" will be demanded not only by the Serbs but also by Albanians and others, Mesic said.

Mesic repeated today his statement, which was the reason why he was requested to give an interview, that "the Kosovo question must be settled within Serbia as well as within Yugoslavia". He added that under the existing constitution Kosovo is within the framework of Serbia and has the status of a constituent element of the federation.

Mesic told SKENDIJA that he is personally speeding up the work of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia on a daily basis so the constitutionality of the Law on the Termination of Work of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo could be assessed as soon as possible as well as the unconstitutional dismissal of SFRY Presidency member Riza Sapundziju. He also regards the election of a new member of the state presidency as a kind of absurdity.

Mesic maintains that Kosovo's greatest problem at the moment is the forcible removal of Albanians from their jobs. Therefore, he stressed that the conditions for their return to work ought to be created as soon as possible.

Montenegro Prevented From 'Borrowing' Money

AU1404182091 Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Mar 91 p 1

[TANJUG report: Federal Executive Council Blocked Montenegro"]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Mar—The Federal Executive Council [FEC] has discovered that the Montenegro Assembly adopted a Law on the Republic's Borrowing based on the obligations in the 1990 Federal Budget toward this republic.

As soon as the FEC discovered this, it immediately intervened by blocking [Montenegro's] bank account and the republican budget, and thus prevented the Law from coming into force, the FEC Information Secretariat has announced.

A process is under way in the FEC to reorganize the budget obligations from 1990, which will also solve the problem of Montenegro.

London Bank Talks Please Markovic

LD1604051891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 15 Apr 91

[Text] London, 15 Apr (TANJUG)—The talks that we had today in London not only fulfilled they exceeded, all our expectations. They confirmed that reform processes and democratization in Yugoslavia, and the federal government working on the implementation of these changes, enjoy exceptional support from western Europe, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic told Yugoslav journalists this evening at the end of his visit to London, where he attended the inauguration of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

They all wish, Markovic said, that Yugoslavia is preserved on the basis of reforms and democratic changes. The talks, as he said, produced completely concrete results because an agreement was reached that EC representatives, including Jacques Delors and Jacques Santer, should visit Yugoslavia at the beginning of May. It has also been agreed that IMF chairman Michel Camdessus should express support for FEC measures and its program, demanding the competence within Yugoslavia to enable its program to be implemented. He offered to visit Yugoslavia as soon as possible, the Yugoslav prime minister stressed.

On all accounts, it is truly incredible that the Western developed world is ready to offer such enormous support to democratic, progressive, reform-oriented development of Yugoslavia, and to the preservation of its integrity, Markovic stated.